

IN THESE TIMES

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40 Cents

Excerpts from
Stonewall

The lesson of Watergate
is not that the system worked,
but that it almost didn't



Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, and three of the Watergate Task Force Special Assistants, left to right, Richard Ben-Veniste, Carl Feldbaum, Jill Wine Vollner.

UPI

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Israeli left in shock after Likud victory.

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The Greatest

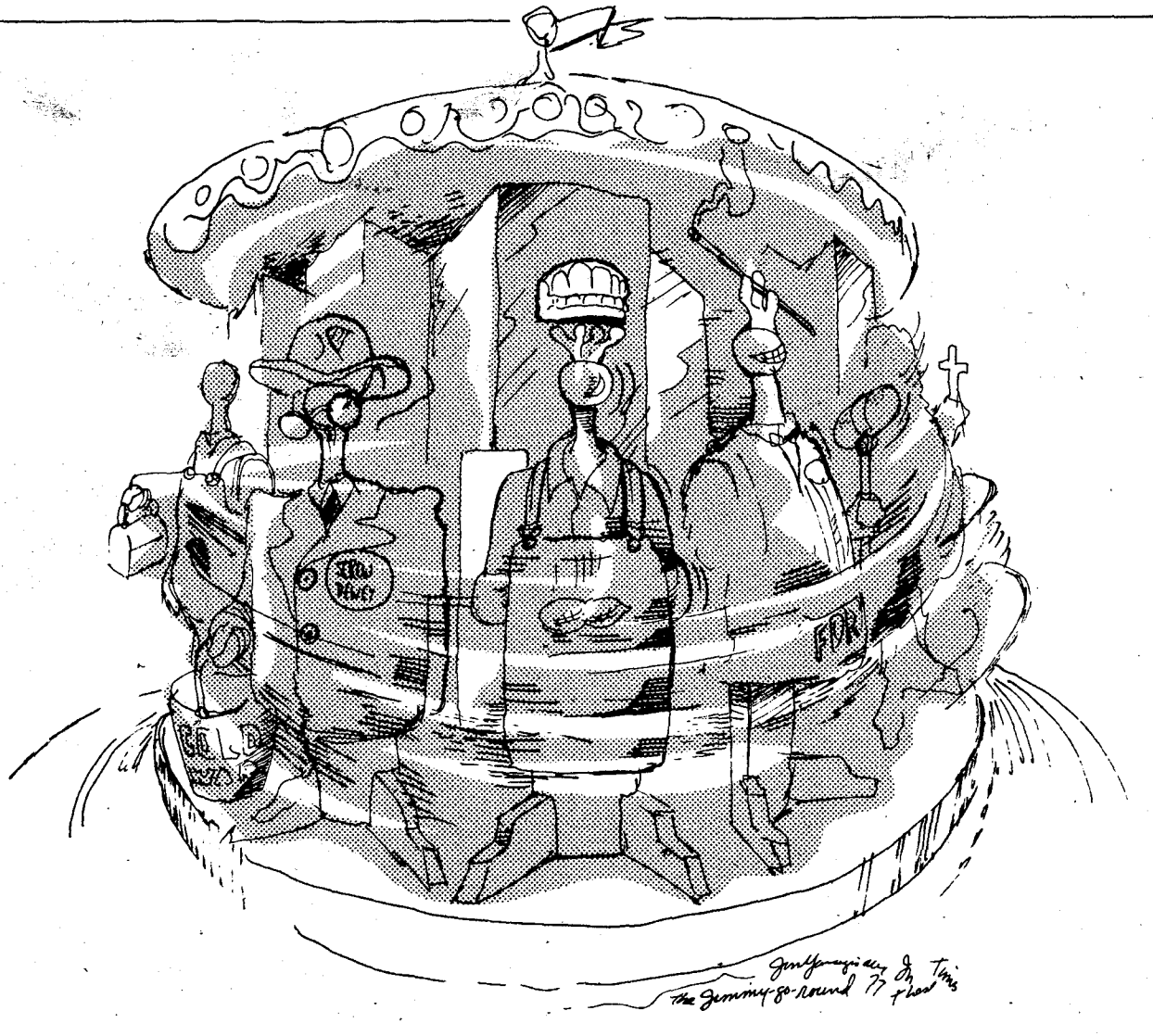
Muhammed Ali's story only pretty good.

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LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A pollster's credo: If you can't save nations then try dolphins

Caddell is not the least bit apologetic about this approach to politics. "The old cliché about mistaking style for substance usually works in reverse in politics," he advises Carter. "Too many good people have been de-



On taxes, Caddell stresses that "quick symbolic action is needed," without specifying the action. (Carter's recent minimal tax reductions?) On unemployment, Caddell recommends low-cost symbols, such as an "ur-

Carter cannot get away with the same rhetoric, and as the unemployment rate continues at over 7 percent, and as his programs for energy, consumer affairs, electoral reform, social security reform, and a balanced budget remain bottled up in Congress, he may find himself out to sea like his predecessors. ■

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IN THE NATION

LABOR

UAW ducks the issues

By Paul Schrade

LOS ANGELES—No one was in doubt that vice-president Doug Fraser would be the new International President of the United Auto Workers union when its convention opened here May 15th. It was unanimous.

What was left in doubt was where the UAW is heading. Fraser's acceptance speech was warmly received but sparked little excitement among the 3,000 delegates and an equal number of staff members, relatives and visitors.

In his speech and press interviews Fraser talked about the shorter work week, rejoining the AFL-CIO and training younger leaders to replace the many retiring. He did not come close, nor did the convention, to the crucial issues dividing younger and older workers, and dividing production workers and skilled tradesmen.

Much of the discontent expressed from the convention floor was from younger workers now back in the auto plants with the recent recovery of auto sales and production. Their issues were mainly production-line speedup, excessive overtime and unsafe and generally bad working conditions.

They complained vigorously about older workers and aging officials overly concerned with their retirement income and their memories of the "early days."

Nothing's changed.

Local 22 president Bob Weissman, longtime dissenter and target of UAW officers at Chrysler's key Cleveland stamping plant explained why many younger workers are so discontented. "The tragedy of the UAW is that the auto industry was noted for its high wages and terrible working conditions before the UAW was organized. Now, 40 years later, the auto industry is still noted for its high wages and horrible working conditions."

Weissman said he recognized the value of the UAW but also its important failures, and that's what most concerns younger workers.

Most delegates supported the shorter work week and were pleased with Fraser's advocacy of it. It is one way to share work with the unemployed and to reduce exposure to unsafe and bad working conditions.

Delegates were not optimistic about the official commitment to the shorter work week, however. Even Fraser openly admits that the four-day week is a long, long way off.

The new paid holidays in UAW's contract were described by Woodcock as "the first step toward the shortening of the work week below 40 hours." Actually the net effect of the extra paid holidays has been to shorten the work year by a little over two days a year.

The contradiction auto workers face is that while UAW officials advocate the shorter work week and claim progress, the norm for auto workers is excessive overtime hours with a six-day week and a nine or ten hour day.

Steady streams of activity.

Delegates, however, had little time to discuss key workplace or economic issues, as a steady stream of resolutions on many other issues passed before them. A dull convention was only occasionally brought to life by another steady stream of super-star speakers—President Jimmy Carter, Ted Kennedy, Rosa Parks, Coretta King, Jacques Cousteau and a dozen more in the four and a half days of the convention.

Selection of the International President to succeed Leonard Woodcock became the most important and practical-



Doug Fraser (center) had the UAW presidency sewn up long before the convention. Outgoing president Leonard Woodcock (left), reluctantly agreed. Here L.A. mayor Tom Bradley greets the two UAW leaders.

UPI

UAW convention delegates had little time to discuss key workplace or economic issues in the face of steady streams of superstar speakers and resolutions on a host of other issues.

ly the only real business of the convention.

Woodcock had to retire because he was beyond the constitutional age limit. Fraser came into the convention with the solid backing of every regional director and international union official and the nearly 1,000 international staff members.

This support guaranteed and produced the most peaceful transfer of power in the 40-year history of the UAW. Even Leonard Woodcock came around to support Fraser despite his long campaign for union vice president Pat Greathouse who bargains for workers in the farm equipment industry.

Months ago Fraser, who has represented Chrysler workers and skilled tradesmen in the UAW, met with the other major contender for the presidency, Irv Bluestone. Bluestone is vice president representing General Motors workers. They decided that Fraser alone should run. Bluestone dropped out to support Fraser and Greathouse quickly followed.

Even the small but vigorous United National Caucus did not launch an opposition candidate to Fraser. Delegate Hank Wilson from big Ford Local 600 at River Rouge outside Detroit was nominated for president. He declined after he strongly criticized UAW officials for allowing too few blacks to enter the leadership.

UAW officials pressed for and won approval for postponement of discussion on all workplace issues and bargaining goals until a special convention is called. Mounting opposition among members to rejoining the AFL-CIO also forced UAW officers to press for postponement on this issue until later this year.

Direct election of officers debated.

Debate was allowed on a resolution to change the present system of election of international officers by convention delegates over to an election system by referendum of the whole membership (as in the Steelworkers union).

On the very first day of the convention retiring president Woodcock had asked the delegates to reject this provision and stick with the delegate system. It was his last speech and strongest appeal.

Woodcock recalled and deplored the heavy factional campaigning as a "battleground" in the UAW when the late Walter Reuther was first elected president of the UAW in the 1946 convention.

He explained that this time a few good men had gotten together and decided on Fraser. "It is because we have a consensus," that there were no "contests" in the local unions and no one "picking sides," claimed Woodcock.

The direct membership vote provision was turned down by a sizeable margin despite some spirited organization for it. But it was defeated only with the solid and vigorous opposition of every international officer in the final hours.

At the convention President Carter confirmed the appointment of retiring Leonard Woodcock as chief of the U.S. Liaison Office, with the rank of ambassador, to the Peoples Republic of China. Carter commended Woodcock for the "superb job" that he had recently done in Vietnam on gathering information on American soldiers missing in action.

Woodcock was an early supporter of Carter and was once a strong contender

for Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in his Cabinet. The failure of Woodcock's drive to take the UAW back into the AFL-CIO and win George Meany's endorsement for the post is believed by some observers to be the reason Woodcock withdrew his name. Meany's endorsement has always been crucial. Among others he once vetoed Walter Reuther when President Kennedy wanted to appoint him delegate to the United Nations. Since Meany does not recognize China in any way, Carter is relatively free in appointing Woodcock to Peking.

Kennedy on health insurance.

Carter took some friendly pressure from Sen. Ted Kennedy on his reluctance to support national health care legislation, also an important goal of Woodcock's. Kennedy spoke to delegates and friends at Woodcock's retirement party and chided Carter by warning that health care reform was "in danger of becoming the missing promise" of the Carter administration.

Carter in his speech the next day said that he is "committed to the phasing in of a workable national health insurance system." He also announced that "We're aiming to submit legislative proposals early next year."

Although far less than a full commitment, it was enough to please Woodcock who led the delegates in a standing ovation. Some delegates, like Kennedy, remained skeptical.

Paul Schrade is a union activist in UAW Local 887, Rockwell "B-1 bomber plant" in Los Angeles.

EDUCATION

Selective admissions

Students, staff and faculty at the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois are demanding a new admission plan called the "Selection Index" be shelved for fall admissions, charging that it is discriminatory. The university claims the Selection Index will result in more successful students at Circle, but Carlos Quintanilla of the Coalition of Concerned Students and Staff charges "the index is unfairly biased against Chicago public school students and will lower the number of minorities and women at Circle."

The index would use high school class rank and scores on the American College Test (ACT) to predict first quarter grade point average. Only students whose pre-college average is 3.0 (C) or higher would be admitted.

Students who have high ACT scores and do best during their first college quarter are those who had college prep courses in high school, says Gregory Bragg of the Coalition of Concerned Faculty. "Inner-city students, both minority and white, often lack this preparation but tend to do better in later quarters after supportive services for skills improvement."

The coalition says students who would have been admitted under the Selection In-

dex last year, had it been used, had approximately the same grades as those who wouldn't have made it. About 10 percent of last year's white students, 40 percent of last year's blacks, and 30 percent of last year's Latino students would have been eliminated under the Selection Index.

The index is part of a national trend of measures that tend to cut minority enrollment in higher education. A recent report from the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education recommended state universities raise tuition to private school levels. Were this to happen, many minority students would simply be priced out of college education. The Commission also recommended channeling some present university students into two-year colleges with a more vocational orientation, a move also expected to decrease minority university enrollment.

On the surface the Selection Index is not aimed at making Circle a school of white students from affluent suburban backgrounds. "But it will have that effect. It's a use of statistics to implement policies that have been determined by other means," says Joseph Persky of the faculty coalition.

—Judy MacLean



Jane Melnick

GOVERNMENT

Secret business lobby against consumer bill

Business's anti-consumer lobby is almost impervious to any possible lobbying bill.

By Barry M. Hager
Congressional Quarterly

WASHINGTON—Current business lobbying against a proposed federal Consumer Protection Agency provides almost a textbook case of the difficulties in forcing adequate disclosure of lobbying activities. Much of the lobbying against the agency has not been registered. And it's not even clear that these activities would have to be registered under lobby reform proposals the Congress is considering.

The proposal for a federal consumer protection agency has passed both houses of Congress in some form in the past, but presidential veto threats have kept it from becoming law. Supported by President Carter, however, the idea has gained momentum.

As the bill creating such an agency neared consideration by the House Government Operations committee on May 10 its opponents—largely business interests—stepped up their vigorous lobbying against the bill. Only tough, vocal Carter administration lobbying enabled the bill to survive in the committee vote and then only by one vote.

A prominent part of the opposition campaign was a well-publicized letter from Leon Jaworski, former Watergate special prosecutor, to the committee chairman. Jaworski drew on his long personal experience to argue that the new agency would have excessive power that could easily be abused.

Jaworski also noted that his services in drafting the letter would be compensated by the Business Roundtable, an organization of the chief executives of major corporations. That voluntary disclosure by Jaworski spotlighted the gaps in public knowledge about the extent and nature of lobbying against the consumer agency.

An ad hoc grouping of some three to four hundred businesses and other

associations has led the fight against the agency for the last eight years. Called the Consumer Issues Working Group, it has served as an information clearinghouse and strategy planner for the opposition. Emmett Hines, Washington representative for the Armstrong Cork Co., has chaired the group all eight years.

The working group has no formal budget or staff. It relies for its resources on voluntary, piecemeal contributions from constituent groups interested in the effort to oppose the agency legislation. The National Association of Manufacturers has paid for the costs of the group's meeting rooms. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce has subsidized much of the group's printing. The Business Roundtable has provided funds for assorted legal expenses.

Very little of this lobbying is registered, or is required to be, under the current lobbying act. Neither Jaworski nor his law firm, which is said to have been active in opposing the bill for a number of years, is registered with Congress as a lobbyist. Emmett Hines is not registered. The Consumer Issues Working Group is not registered.

As a result, there are no clear records for the public or Congress to examine. The extent of expenditures and the breadth of contact with members of Congress and their staffs cannot be known.

The Consumer Issues Working Group keeps no records or minutes. And since it has no paid officers or staff it is hard to write a law that would define such an organization as one that should register and disclose its activities.

"These organizations come together, work and break up as issues wax and wane," one business representative explained.

The same ad hoc organizational principle is involved whenever two or more lobbyists from different organizations get together to plan lobbying strategy. Full disclosure by their respective organizations of expenditures and employees would still give only a piecemeal picture of the way lobby efforts are really put together and orchestrated. Making the mechanics of a lobby truly visible to Congress and its interested observers is a difficult challenge. It is doubtful that current reform efforts will make much difference.

MILITARY SPENDING

Carter waffles on fate of B-1

By John Markoff

WASHINGTON—The National Campaign to Stop the B-1 Bomber held a press conference here May 18 to take Jimmy Carter to task for failing to live up to his campaign promise to stop construction of the B-1 Bomber.

The Campaign called the press conference just hours after meeting with an administration representative who delivered written responses to questions that had been submitted by the campaign to Midge Constanza who heads Carter's Office of Public Liaison.

Nancy Ramsey, Washington director of Women's National League for Peace and Freedom told the press conference, "When a President stands up and says to the United Auto Workers that 'we can't afford everything,' then we certainly can't afford an airplane that costs \$101 million." Ramsey called the current limited funding of the B-1 by the administration an "extreme breach of faith."

The National Campaign to Stop the B-1 Bomber submitted 14 specific questions to the administration on February 25th after it became clear that Carter did not intend to stop the B-1 immediately after he was elected.

The Carter administration answers, released last week, included the following:

- The decision on the B-1 will be made this summer. This would be before any Fiscal 1978 funds are obligated.

- The current Department of Defense five-year plan includes procurement of air-launched cruise missiles independent of a B-1 production decision. However, the cruise missile is currently being reviewed by Secretary of Defense Harold Brown.

- The total cost to build, operate, maintain and arm 244 B-1s for the life of the system is estimated to be \$40 billion in constant fiscal year 1978 budget dollars. This is the highest official cost estimate for the B-1 to date. This places the ultimate B-1 cost, adjusted for inflation, closer to the \$92 billion used by B-1 critics.

- The Carter administration denied that money spent on the B-1 would create fewer jobs than federal money spent in other ways.

- The administration did not answer a question that asked if Carter had changed his mind from his campaign statement,

When a president stands up and tells the UAW that 'we can't afford everything,' then we certainly can't afford a \$101 million airplane

"The B-1 is an example of a proposed system which should not be funded and would be wasteful of taxpayers' dollars." Also unanswered is a question about what restrictions would be placed on Pentagon lobbying and several other questions on economic security for B-1 workers and conversion legislation.

Bob Brammer, coordinator of the National Campaign to Stop the B-1 Bomber said that only ten questions were answered and that the answers had been prepared by the Pentagon.

"President Carter has not seen the answers to our questions," Brammer stated, "and we don't think he's seen the questions." However, the answers—which conflict with other Carter policy statements—were reviewed by Stuart Eisenstadt's Domestic Policy Staff in the White House.

The White House has stated that President Carter will not be involved in the decision on B-1 production until several studies reviewing the B-1 are completed.

During the press conference the Stop the B-1 Bomber: National Peace Conversion Campaign, another anti-B-1 group, announced plans to hold a sit-in at the White House on June 12th.

Carol Ness, a member of Clergy and Laity Concerned, said that activists intended to continue a non-violent protest at the White House until Carter makes his B-1 decision.

Jeremy Stone, a defense expert who is director of the Federation of American Scientists, called the B-1 bomber, "the largest military procurement decision since the building of the Chinese Wall."

John Markoff is a freelance writer who is currently doing research on defense lobbying for the Military Audit Project.

ECONOMY

If boom is here, can bust be far away?

By David Mermelstein

Figures released in early May provide fresh evidence that the American economy is picking up steam: official unemployment fell 0.3 percent to 7 percent, a 29-month low, while total employment rose; the index of leading indicators (a measure that forecasts future economic activity) soared upwards in March for its largest gain in nearly two years; factory orders rose 5.2 percent, the best increase in six years. Construction spending for March also rose significantly as did new-car sales for April.

No boom worth its salt has ever made it without surging business investment in plant and equipment. Until now, overcapacity, business caution and a need for corporations to put their financial houses in order (i.e., pay past debts before acquiring new ones) had made capital investment a significant soft spot in what otherwise was a relatively normal economic recovery. The tide may be turning in this area; just released is a highly regarded survey by McGraw Hill predicting an 18 percent rise in the growth of domestic capital spending (11 percent, adjusted for inflation).

Clouds remain, however. Wholesale prices are soaring in double digits. (Can consumer prices be far behind?) The stock market continues to stagnate well below its peak. Unemployment, far higher than official figures indicate, remains concentrated and without significant improvement among young persons and minorities. Even the projected capital boom has weaknesses, especially in steel, and to a lesser extent in petroleum, paper and chemicals. The same McGraw Hill survey of investment plans implies stagnation for years beyond the current one.

Still, the immediate picture is for an accelerated tempo of economic activity. It would probably be fair to say that the American economy is in the process of moving beyond "recovery" to conditions of "boom." On the other hand, the expansion phase of the typical business cycle usually lasts less than three years, and so we may be less than a year away from another downturn. Any such downturn would start on a base of unemployment so high we would almost certainly re-experience the Depression phenomenon of double-digit unemployment.

Recession only a question of when.

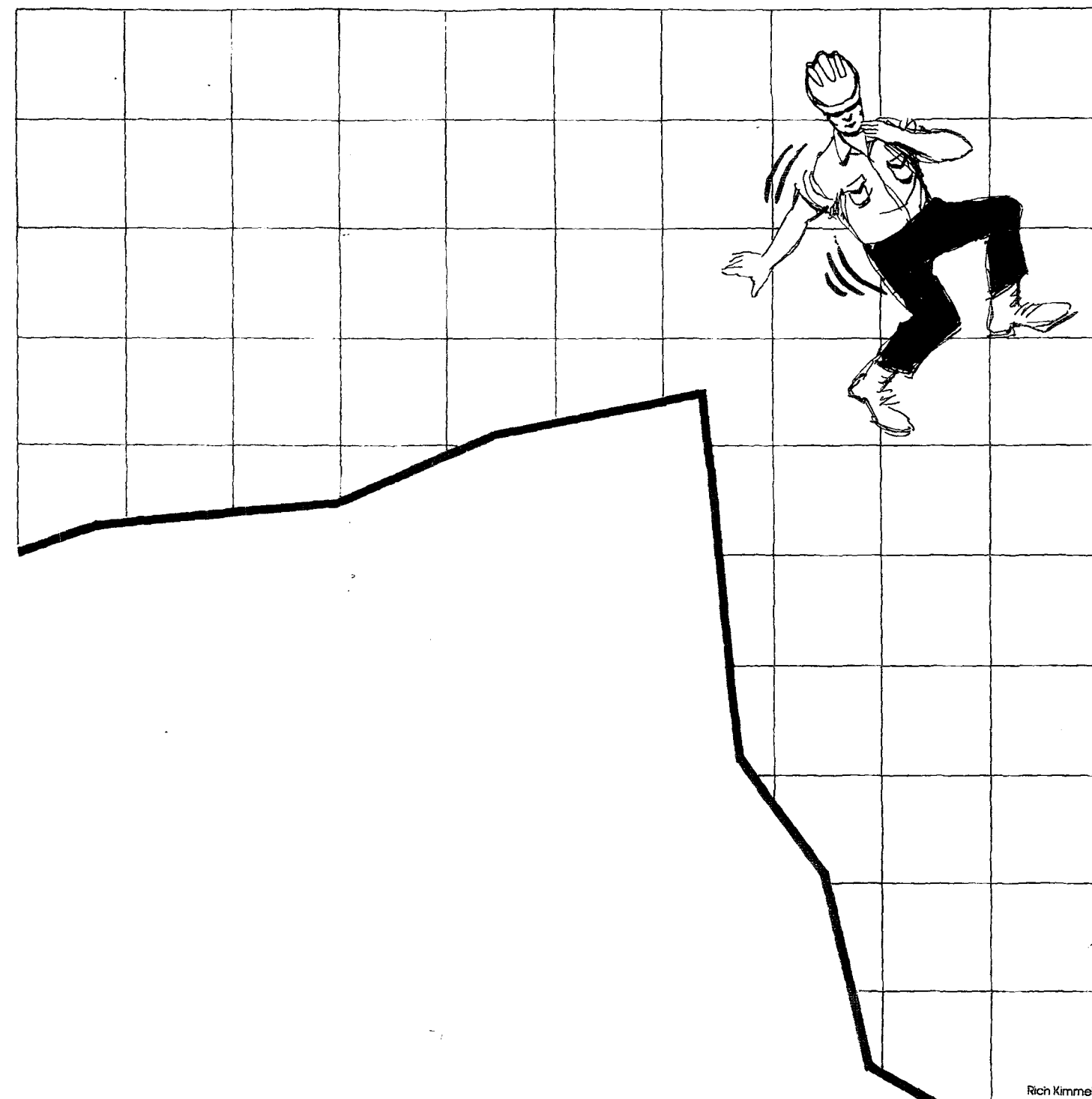
If the date of the next recession remains in doubt, its eventual appearance is not, as booms always end in busts. The reasons are complex: to some extent each business cycle represents a new stage in capitalist development, expressing new realities with unique features. But all booms share one feature: costs escalate—cost of wages as the labor market tightens, of interest rates as business borrows more to fuel the boom. These pressures push prices higher. Too much money also chases after too few goods, as textbooks describe demand inflation.

Inflation in turn causes wage demands to soar as workers struggle to increase their real incomes. It pushes interest rates higher as lenders try to protect themselves against repayments in cheapened dollars.

While no one has ever suggested a complete answer to the business cycle, Keynesian economists—following after the great English economist, John Maynard Keynes, whose influential work, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* was published in 1936—have argued that appropriate government monetary and fiscal policies can dampen the cycle and prevent serious malfunctions.

Corporate planning.

Today's extraordinary juxtaposition of world-wide inflation in the midst of stagnation and unemployment provides a real test of Keynesian economics. It has been faltering badly. Within the current context of international financial disorder,



Rich Kimmel

The immediate likelihood is another year of economic advance—even boom. Exceptionally well managed, a boom could extend until 1979, although this seems unlikely.

der, excessive indebtedness and increased monopolization, Keynesian policies to expand production have been excessively inflationary. Since inflation undermines the boom in ways just described, Keynesian economics has been self-defeating.

Nonetheless, traditional liberals, especially those like Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) with strong ties to organized labor, continue to advocate spending programs, tax cuts and low interest rates to reduce unemployment and prop up demand. But programs of this kind create inflationary pressures that undermine profits, investment and hence prosperity.

The suspicion grows that liberalism of this kind can only lead to a new kind of government planning. The Humphrey/Hawkins bill promoting "full" employment and the Humphrey/Javits bill on behalf of balanced growth and economic planning are but precursors of broader as well as more specific forms of government economic intervention.

In effect the "planners," who number among them such luminaries as Thomas B. Watson of IBM, Henry Ford II and Felix Rhatyn, partner in Lazard Freres and chairman of New York's Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big MAC), wish to go beyond the Keynesian regulatory framework, which is *general* in nature to specific *individual* controls on prices, wages and resource allocation. They also hope to create new federal agencies to mobilize huge agglomerates of capital for private investment that otherwise might not be made, especially in the development of new sources of energy. Conservatives such as Arthur F. Burns

of the Federal Reserve have their own variant of economic planning—Burns himself calls for a job creation scheme with pay considerably lower than the minimum wage. Their programmatic efforts are rooted in the fact that profit rates have been in sharp decline since the mid-'60s, though improved somewhat of late.

From this perspective what is needed is a prolonged period of economic austerity designed to reduce wage pressures, inflation and interest rates. The current wave of attempts to roll back social services in the fiscally distressed northeast cities can be interpreted as the urban clause of this national austerity plan.

Carter, like the Republicans before him, has accepted the conservative attitude of providing just enough fiscal stimulus to keep the momentum of recovery but little more, lest inflation be renewed. For a while—during the early fall of '76 and again during the bitter winter that followed—it even looked as though the economy would crash for lack of fiscal acceleration.

To the extent a slow-paced advance can be maintained, corporations benefit from the diminished wage pressures that continued unemployment creates. Conservatives also hope that controlled growth will "correct" the inflationary distortions that every boom creates—speculative buying of inventory and stocks, overbuilding of capacity, and financial excesses—in an orderly and contained fashion.

But conservative "fine tuning" is no more apt to be successful than its liberal

Keynesian counterpart. The disorders in the world capitalist economy are too deep to be controlled in a permanent way by tinkering of this sort.

Will labor remain passive?

The immediate likelihood is another year of economic advance—even boom—if by that term we mean accelerating rates of inflation, tight labor markets, sporadic shortages reflecting the push of production against the physical limits of capacity and speculative overbuilding of inventory to take advantage of rising prices.

Exceptionally well managed, a boom could extend until 1979, although this seems unlikely. The inevitable recession will doubtlessly push unemployment rates to unprecedented post-World War II highs.

Lurking in the background is the very real possibility that an ever-shaky financial system based on unpayable debts will collapse sooner rather than later, plunging us into a depression more like the '30s than most business analysts believe possible.

Conservative experiments in austerity can continue only as long as workers and organized labor remain passive and docile. Should the vast but veiled resentment and discontent express itself more visibly in strikes and political demonstrations, we would likely see Jimmy Carter or his successor emerge quickly as "liberal" planner. At that point the field of class conflict would likely shift in large part to the political arena. Presidential (or congressional) boards controlling wages and prices would be its probable focus.

At any rate, some mix of austerity and capitalist planning lies ahead.

David Mermelstein, editor of *The Economic Crisis Reader* (Vintage, 1975) and co-editor (with Roger E. Alcaly) of *The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities* (Vintage, 1977), heads the New York bureau of *In These Times*.

Illegal aliens—the new scapegoats

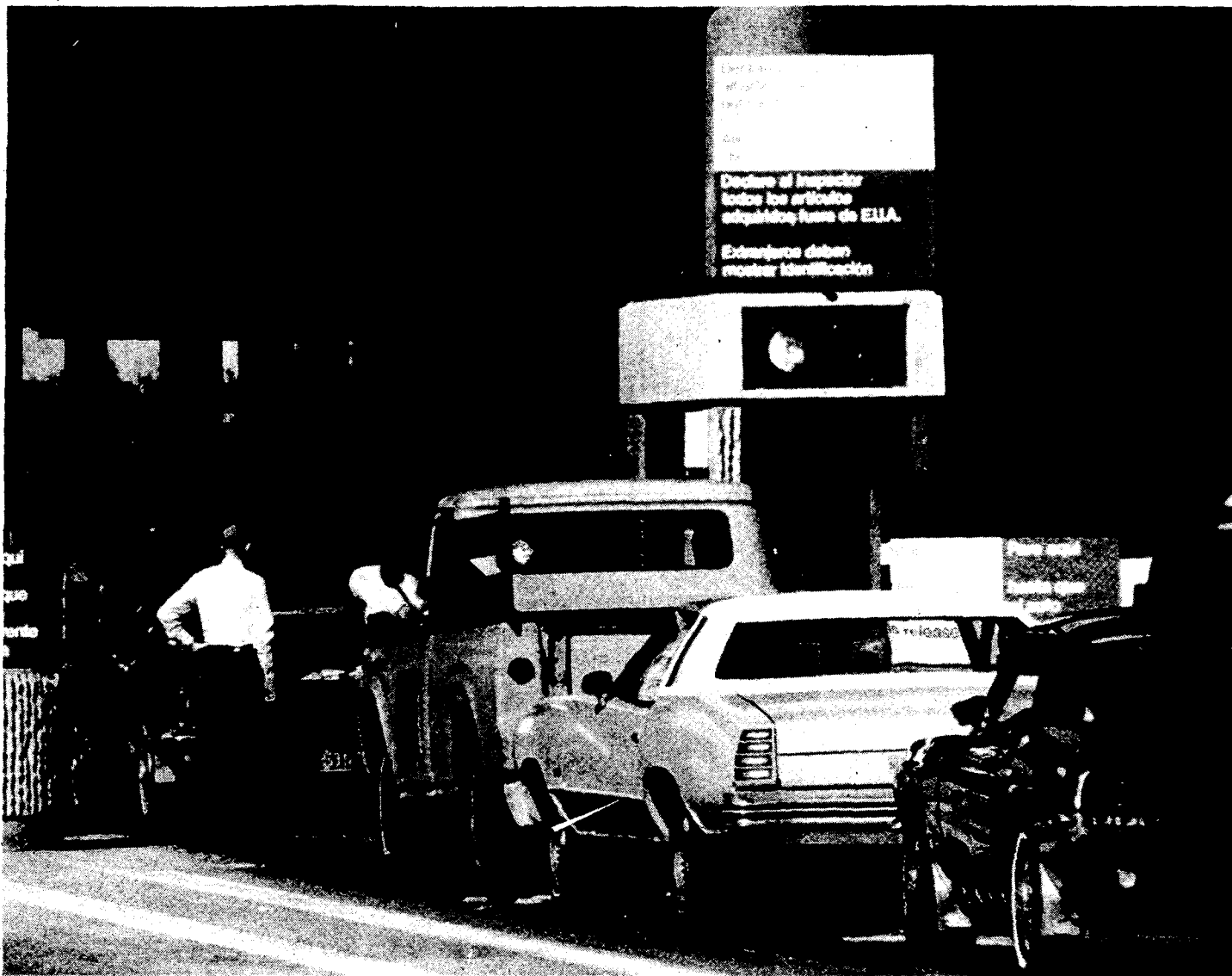
Introduction

"Illegal aliens," workers who enter the U.S. without proper documents, have been in the news a lot lately. Most of the coverage focuses on Mexican workers, who cross the border to work in fields, restaurants, hotels, and homes for low wages. They live in constant fear of being turned in to the Immigration police., yet each year their numbers grow. One source estimates that 10 percent of Mexico's population lives in the U.S.

The following three articles highlight aspects of the situation. The first describes a study done in San Diego that refutes common myths about illegal workers. Such workers do not take jobs from citizens, drain the local government of welfare funds or cause a rise in street crime, the report shows.

The next article sums up the Carter administration's approach toward illegals. Carter's plan would penalize employers, a first in the U.S., where only the undocumented workers themselves have been punished in the past. But the plan may trample civil liberties, and doesn't get to the root of the problem, according to Carter's own spokespeople.

The final article describes the plight of long-time illegal residents who have children who are American citizens. When the parents are deported, the children, though citizens, are forced to leave, too.



San Diego study shows aliens give more than get

By David Helvarg
SAN DIEGO—If one were to believe groups as diverse as the Ku Klux Klan, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the executive board of the AFL-CIO, the "illegal alien" is a major contributing factor to the economic crisis confronting America today. According to them, "illegal aliens" are responsible for much of the country's street crime, drain the local tax-base through the collection of welfare and food stamps and take away jobs that might otherwise go to out-of-work Americans, thus creating unemployment and recession.

On July 15, 1975, the Board of Supervisors of San Diego County decided to do just that. They approved a special research study to be conducted by the County Human Resources Agency to determine the socio-economic impact of illegal aliens living in San Diego.

Seventeen months later a final report was submitted to the board for approval. On March 15 the board voted to accept the 206-page report and to direct their lobbyist in Washington to bring the report to the attention of various officials in the Congress and the administration.

The report, entitled *Impact of Illegal Aliens on San Diego County*, is generally agreed to be the most thorough, long-term research project of its type.

Its findings show that illegal aliens do not threaten American jobs and do not drain the economy, but conversely, because of their "illegal" status, provide an easy source of cheap, exploitable labor for American business, particularly agribusiness.

Few illegals receive welfare.

According to the report, "San Diego County is the most highly impacted area in the world in relation to the problem of illegal immigration. In 1976, 267,711 illegal aliens were apprehended in the San

Diego region, over one-third of the national total."

It estimates that there are 92,000 illegal aliens living in the city. Some 65 percent are estimated to be holding jobs, mostly in agriculture (30 percent) and in services (44 percent).

The average illegal is said to earn \$2.10 an hour or \$4,368 a year. Although not required to pay any federal or state income taxes due to their low income bracket, the report found that over 80 percent of job-holding illegals were, nonetheless, having taxes withheld by their employers. This added up to nearly \$49 million a year in San Diego alone.

The report went on to state that while qualifying for social service benefits through this tax contribution (17 percent of their wages) few illegals were actually able to receive benefits.

"General Relief and the Food Stamp program revealed no cost impact by illegal aliens, due to the extremely rigid qualifying requirements and procedures," said the report.

Indeed the largest outlay of government funds for undocumented aliens (outside of law enforcement expenditures) went for indigent burials: "From April 1975 through June 1976 a total of 41 illegal aliens were provided burial services at a County cost of \$8,079."

Security barriers ineffective.

The report also tackles the question of whether undocumented aliens are holding down jobs that might otherwise go to local residents. It based its findings on two investigations: one conducted after 2,154 aliens were apprehended on the job in Los Angeles, another based on the INS seizure of 340 working aliens in San Diego. In both instances it was found that the job slots vacated were not filled by local residents.

State officials found three reasons for

their inability to place local residents in these jobs: 1) most employers paid less than the minimum wage, 2) the job categories (agricultural work, garment work, etc.) were not appealing to locals, 3) applicants were discouraged by low wages, difficulty of the work and the long hours demanded by the employers.

Most of the vacated jobs were eventually refilled by illegals or else went to "Green carders" (day laborers from Tijuana).

In the area of law enforcement and crime the report found that while millions of dollars are being spent to apprehend, detain and repatriate illegal aliens, three times as many people continue to get through the security barriers as are caught. An estimated 10 percent of Mexico's population now resides in the U.S.

With the increased flow of illegals across the boarder has come an increase in crime, not against American citizens but against the illegals themselves. Border bandits and gangs have stepped up a campaign of murder, rape and robbery secure in the knowledge that only about 10 percent of the crimes they commit

against illegal aliens will be reported to the police.

Finally, in determining concerns of the Chicano community on the issue of immigration the report found: opposition to "highway check-points" established by the border patrol where "suspected illegal aliens" (all people with brown skin) are stopped; opposition to the Rodino bill and to any kind of Bracero type program that might be reimplemented; fear of a recurrence of the "repatriations" of the '30s when tens of thousands of Spanish-surnamed people were deported without regard to their legal status; the deportation of underage illegal aliens without their parents' knowledge; slanted news media accounts that blame the illegal alien for the depressed state of the economy; the need to expand legal immigration quotas for the western hemisphere; and the need for an amnesty for those illegal aliens who have lived here for some amount of time (one suggestion was amnesty for all those who arrived before July 4, 1976).

David Helvarg is a freelance writer in San Diego.

Carter's proposals would focus on the employers

During the 1930s tens of thousand of white farmers were forced off the land in the dustbowl states. They migrated to California, swelling the agricultural labor force. The American government then "discovered" the cause of high unemployment at that time was foreign labor working in th U.S. illegally.

In 1971 about the time unemployment rates began to rise, the government once again discovered the problem of "illegal aliens." The Immigration and Naturalization Service, charged with enforcing immigration laws, beefed up Border Patrols on the Mexican border, and caught many individuals trying to get over in search of work. In 1976, for example, they apprehended 875,000 people expelling 765,000. INS estimates, however, that there are

still between six and eight million illegals working in the U.S.

Now, President Carter has a package of proposals that he hopes will solve the problem of illegal aliens.

Among the provisions in Carter's proposed legislation:

- civil fines for employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens;
- amnesty for those individuals who already have been within the U.S. long enough to build up substantial "equity" in this country;
- tighten enforcement of existing wage-and-hour and working condition statutes to minimize the employers' incentives to circumvent the law and hire illegal aliens;
- tougher enforcement of the physical

The Carter administration has come to realize that formal changes in immigration will not stop the flow across the border... illegal immigrants Only action attacking the economic reasons that bring the employer who here will make a difference.

borders and points of entry into the U.S., and

* foreign policy initiatives aimed at lessening the pressures that lead individuals to enter the U.S. without official approval.

Employer sanctions.

Central to the plan are the sanctions on employers. At present, with some minor exceptions, there is no penalty attached to hiring illegal aliens. This leads to employers having great power over their undocumented workers; they can turn these workers in at any time and suffer no consequences. Under the new plan, employers would risk civil fines.

Rep. Joshua Eilberg (D-Pa.), chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship and International Law, says civil fines won't be a deterrent. "The fine is likely to be nominal. It turns out to be a license rather than a disincentive to hire illegal aliens again. It becomes just a cost of doing business to some employers."

The employer sanction provision is strongly opposed by Senate Judiciary chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.). He fears employers will not have access to sufficient seasonal, temporary and cheap labor.

Some in the Justice department also fear that the employer sanctions could lead to all employers shying away from hiring Hispanic. To avoid this they, along with Labor Secretary Ray Marshall, have advocated a new, national, fool-proof identification system.

Opposition to this type of internal passport system, which conjures up memories of Nazi Germany, came from Carter's newly appointed head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service Leonel Castillo, and from Attorney General Griffin Bell, and led to the dropping of this aspect from Carter's proposal. Rather, the

Attorney General is allowed to designate existing identification documents that employers can rely on as a defense to avoid paying fines.

Won't be fishing for minnows.

Carter's amnesty criteria are still vague. One source said time in the U.S. and family considerations would probably be included.

Tougher enforcement of federal wage and hour and working conditions laws is proposed to try and make employment of illegal aliens less attractive. Employers hire illegals precisely because they will work for wages and under conditions that citizens won't. A larger budget for the federal Wage and Hour Administration is included in the proposal.

Labor Sec. Marshall says enforcement will concentrate on industries that are known to use illegal alien labor. "We would try to proceed against the most important violators. In other words, we won't be fishing for minnows and let the whales get away."

The stronger border regulations are likely to be more of what INS already dishes out. Additional helicopters and equipment, additional border patrols are on the agenda.

In the long run, administration spokespeople concede the only way to stop the flow of illegals is to stop the economic conditions that make workers leave developing countries like Mexico and come to the U.S. in search of work. The Carter proposal does not include any real measure to lessen the inequality between nations, but rather calls for negotiations and consultations with the source countries.

Rep. Eilberg is optimistic that something like the Carter package will pass the 95th Congress.

—Judy MacLean
Staff Writer

Western Hemisphere parents of minor citizens did not have to meet the usual tough requirements that a "labor certified" job (a job that no American citizen could be found for) be awaiting them in the U.S. And their visa applications were processed separately. Since Eastern Hemisphere parents of minor citizens had no such privileges, those from the Western Hemisphere have lost theirs.

The Eilberg law also limits to 20,000 the number of visas allowed any one country in the Western Hemisphere, as has been the case with the Eastern Hemisphere.

For most nationalities, the 20,000 is sufficient. But Mexico, a poor neighboring country from which tens of thousands come to the U.S. every year to seek work, is a special case. Forty thousand Mexicans alone have immigrated legally to the U.S. each year for the past eight. And as many as 400,000 Mexicans are estimated to enter the U.S. illegally each year.

With the new limitations, many Latino groups have contended the Eilberg law was aimed directly at reducing their numbers.

Deputy INS director in San Francisco Gordon Davidson, on the other hand, says "the new law is more fair because it applies the same rules to both hemispheres." And, he adds, other Mexicans will now have a better chance to obtain visas since parents of minor citizens had been taking up much of the previous allotment.

But Davidson acknowledges that there probably won't be a significant reduction in the number of illegals entering the country. "The reason Mexicans come here is economic," he says, "and no new immigration law is going to stop that. The only way to stop illegal immigration is to cut off their reason for coming—jobs—by prosecuting employers who hire them."

—Carey Quan Gelernter
Pacific News Service

COALITION POLITICS

San Diego honors Malcolm X's birthday

By Bill Ritter

SAN DIEGO—Ten years ago a group of black San Diego activists began celebrating the birthday of Malcolm X, the black nationalist leader who was assassinated in 1965 at a time when he was beginning to call for a "rainbow coalition" of Americans to fight oppression.

The celebration of Malcolm's birthday (on May 20th and called *Kuzaliwa*, meaning rebirth in Swahili) has always been a festive occasion in San Diego's black community, highlighted with music and a giant picnic. The celebration this year, however, was more than a day in the park. It was a march and rally in the downtown business district involving 500 chanting demonstrators of every color. They listened to a long line of speakers link Malcolm X's birthday with current struggles for liberation and justice.

"We wanted to bring the celebration to a new political level," says organizer Greg Akili, a member of the Nia Cultural Organization, the group that pulled the event together. "This year we wanted to make a definite political statement about Malcolm and about broad support for African liberation."

Among the speakers were California's Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally, the state's highest ranking black official; American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks; political activist Tom Hayden; and United Farmworker chief Cesar Chavez.

All speakers—including numerous black, brown and white local activists—tied Malcolm X's teachings to current political work and struggle and many emphasized the need to continue to build a "rainbow coalition" for change.

"Throughout my years of struggle, I began to make comparisons between the U.S. interest in Africa and what was happening in this country," Dennis Banks said. "And in the end, there can be no

real freedom for people in South Dakota until people in South Africa are free."

Tom Hayden, who last year ran unsuccessfully against Sen. John Tunney in the California Democratic primary, told the crowd that, like so many other progressive leaders, "Malcom was scorned during his life, and made a hero after his death."

"But what the establishment didn't realize," Hayden said, "was that other people would continue the struggle." Hayden urged the crowd to support bills currently before Congress that would end official ties with the racist regimes of southern Africa. Specifically, he pushed passage of a bill by Ohio Senator Richard Clark that seeks to break intelligence ties with South Africa.

"Until we take away the U.S. economic involvement from South Africa," Hayden said, "there will be no peace there. The issue is not civil rights. The issue is black liberation and independence."

Cesar Chavez, speaking for his United Farmworkers union and the farmworkers gathered in the crowd, argued that "we are fighting for freedom. The cause of the farmworkers is the struggle for freedom for everyone."

California's Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally told the crowd that the broad support shown at the rally was only the beginning. "California is becoming the first Third World state in the nation," he posited. "The population of the state is changing. This group reflects what California will be in the next decade—multilingual, multicultural, multiethnic. And that means that we must build coalitions to prepare for the future."

In a final unbelievable note, the County Board of Supervisors presented the rally with a proclamation calling May 20th "Malcolm X/African Liberation Day" in San Diego.

Present immigration law deports citizen children

SAN FRANCISCO—Armando Barbosa, a dark, stocky Mexican who had lived illegally in the U.S. for seven years, made one last appeal to the immigration judge to allow him and his family to stay in the country.

"I got three U.S.-born citizen children, and this is a violation of my rights," he told the court. "I'm going to write a letter to Jimmy Carter, tell him how these people treat illegal aliens—like dogs—right here in San Francisco."

But Barbosa (not his real name) and his wife had no rights as illegal aliens—not even as parents of three minor children who are American citizens by birth. The Barbosas have since been deported to Mexico. And because they would not leave their children behind without care, the three youngsters were in effect also deported—despite their citizenship.

Such *de facto* deportation of American citizen children—by no means a new phenomenon—is escalating rapidly as a little-noticed side effect of recent changes in immigration legislation.

Until this year the Barbosas—and other Western Hemisphere parents of minor

citizens—could expect to win residence visas in the U.S. within two to two and a half years after applying (barring evidence of criminality). But now their wait could take up to 21 years—or until their children have become adults. Under new immigration provisions, called the Eilberg law after sponsor Rep. Joshua Eilberg (D-Pa.), parents have lost their special preferences in obtaining visas—while parents of adult children still have high priority.

Mexican families victimized.

This provision of the Eilberg law—which the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) contends was passed not to increase immigration law discrimination but to end it—falls especially hard on Mexican families. And as such it has become entwined in the complex and fast-growing controversy over the skyrocketing "illegal alien" problem.

The key provision of the Eilberg law is that it applies the same restrictions to residents of the Western Hemisphere that have applied to residents of the Eastern Hemisphere.

Under the previous immigration law

WOMEN

Right-wing moves on state women's meetings

By Martha Gaines
Stop-ERA and other right-wing political forces are attending state conferences being held in preparation for November's National Women's Conference. The conferences, funded by the federal government and sponsored by the National International Women's Year Commission, are convened to involve those active in advancing women's rights.

The anti-ERA forces have another agenda in mind. A conservative planning committee named by Gerald Ford has allowed them to become major forces in some state commissions, such as Michigan's. ERA foe Phyllis Schlafly is planning to attend the Illinois conference with her troops in mid-June.

At the second of the state meetings May 6-7 in Georgia, attended by more than 1,200 women and a few men, there were some 200-250 representatives from right-wing groups under the leadership of Georgia Stop-ERA chair and John Birch Society leader, Georgia congressman Larry McDonald.

This contingent attended specific workshops *en masse*—those dealing with the ERA, international involvement, education, textbooks and sexism—in an effort to pass their own views and to carry them through the plenary sessions. While they were able to prevail in some workshops, they lost in the larger sessions.

Some of the group became abusive midway through the final session, following their defeat on several votes and reverted to name-calling, billing conference participants as anti-God, anti-country and promoters of lesbianism and communism.

One of the major items on the conference agenda was the election of 30 delegates and five alternatives to attend the November national meeting in Houston. The delegation is supposed to be "diverse" but neither the slate drawn up by a conference planning committee prior to the conference nor the final selection included such key groups as domestic workers, poor women, welfare recipients or members of NOW. Some two-thirds of the slate had at least a college education, not representative of women in Georgia.

Efforts to broaden the composition of the delegates were subverted by anxiety over the "busloads of anti-ERAs coming in to vote." Nonetheless, the right wing forces were able to win

three delegate positions and several alternate ones.

Georgia activists point out that the planning process for the statewide conference from the beginning either excluded women's groups or sought to negate their presence. It was only after outside intervention, for instance, that the national planning committee appointed a NOW leader to the state conference committee. Other groups like the 7,000-member YWCA, which operates the Atlanta Women's Center; Welfare Rights Organization; Georgians for the ERA and many other activist oriented groups were not included. One member of the staff screening committee, for example, said she didn't think the state committee should employ "anyone who has been involved with a women's organization."

Efforts to open up the planning process were continually thwarted. Confusion and lack of knowledge were widespread even among planning members. The full committee met only three times, twice in December and once in February. Minutes of task forces and subcommittees were not sent to members. It was unclear as to how and by whom decisions were made, but it was clear that they weren't being made by the planning committee.

A residue of bitterness survives the Georgia conference. Many women would agree with the closing admonition of conference speaker Elizabeth Duncan Koontz on the need to respect diversity and her dismay that "too often we forget we are together to eliminate discrimination against women and, instead, we try to eliminate women."

Feminist in many states are faring better than those in Georgia, but the national outcome remains in doubt. The purpose of November's conference is to bring women from all economic backgrounds to set a national and international women's rights agenda.

The willingness of planning committees to exclude feminists and include the far right on a state level leaves state conferences open to packing by such groups as Stop-ERA. If they win a sizeable number of seats they could divert discussion to issues of their choosing, or at least pull the final program far to the right.

Martha Gaines is the Southern Regional Director of NOW and was a member of the Georgia statewide committee.

Illinois rallies for the ERA



Photos by Jane Melnick



Speakers at the May 14 ERA rally in Chicago. Top: Sharon Scoby, Coordinator, Black Women's Task Force of the Committee for the ERA. Bottom: Iris Rivera, a Chicago legal secretary who was fired for refusing to make coffee for her boss. Feminist groups came to Rivera's defense and she was reinstated.

FOCUS ON WOMEN

Tresspassing for inspection

Four feminist health activists were found guilty May 21 on trespassing charges arising from an inspection of the maternity unit at Tallahassee Memorial Hospital. Carol Downer and Ginny Cassidy received 60-day jail sentences and \$1,000 fines; Janice Cohen and Linda Curtis, 30 days and \$500 fines.

The four are free on bail pending appeal in the Florida Supreme Court. Supporters say the nature of Florida's trespassing law and obviously prejudicial treatment by the trial judge gives the appeal a good chance.

The inspection was conducted by WATCH (Women Acting to Combat Harassment) March 6 during a national conference of women's health activists. The inspection exposed hospital practices, such as drugging of women in labor and misuse of fetal heart monitors leading to excessively high Cæsarian section rates. Both practices are dangerous to mothers and babies. The case could set a precedent on the rights of citizen groups to inspect and evaluate health facilities. The wo-

men's health movement increasingly opposes the lack of accountability by public hospitals and the increasing use of costly and dangerous technology in normal birth.

Freeing Gloria Timmons

Gloria Faye Timmons shot her husband in 1973. He'd beaten her many times—once in a hospital in front of witnesses where she was recuperating from injuries sustained when he pushed her down a flight of stairs. When she shot him, they were both in a bar, and he was coming at her with a screwdriver.

In 1973 awareness of the situation of battered wives was low. There were no shelters or organizations to defend their rights. Timmons' lawyer feared she would be convicted of first degree murder. Timmons, 19 years old and black, agreed to plead guilty to manslaughter as a result of plea bargaining and ended up with a 20-year sentence.

A defense committee is now trying to free Gloria Timmons. So far Timmons has been denied parole. For more infor-

mation: Teresa Williams, 1010 N.W. 67th, Seattle, WA 98117.

Hopeful for ERA in Illinois

The Illinois House of Representatives will vote on the Equal Rights Amendment early this week. "It's going to be tight but we think it will pass the house," says Sue Croteau of ERA Illinois. The senate is expected to vote in late June.

If Illinois passes the ERA, it will be the 36th out of the 38 states necessary for ratification. South Carolina may vote in the next two weeks, but ERAmerica says the measure may also not come up before the legislative adjournment in early June. No other state is expected to consider the ERA in 1977.

Illinois activists are lobbying hard in key districts. A group called Housewives for ERA visited each representative two weeks ago, hoping to counter Phyllis Schlafly's contention that housewives oppose the ERA. The group explained that the ERA will help homemakers, and gave each representative a rose. Schlafly and her Stop-ERA lobbyists showed up two

days later, with apple pies for legislators.

In Chicago, a pro-ERA rally drew 1,200 people on May 14 and several other cities around the country held solidarity rallies the same day.

A gay survey

Authors Karla Jay and Allen Young are compiling a survey of lesbian and gay sexuality. The two have edited several anthologies of writings by lesbians and gay men, including *Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation*.

The questionnaire takes a few hours to answer, and Jay and Young are distributing hundreds of thousands of copies in hopes of writing the first complete profile drawn from experiences of lesbians and gay men. Previous sexual surveys, such as those by Kinsey and Hite, have considered homosexuality only as a side issue.

There are separate questionnaires for men and women, and the authors request all replies be anonymous. For copies, write Survey, Box 98, Orange, Mass. 01364.

—Compiled by Judy MacLean

IN THE WORLD

ISRAEL

Begin ends 30-year Labor rule

Special Report
to In These Times
from Tel Aviv

By David Mandel

Israel social-democracy, after 30 years in power, has suffered a crushing defeat at the polls, but it could perhaps be more accurately described as a long, drawn-out suicide.

Are the Israeli people bent on suicide? Have they become so hopelessly chauvinistic as to vote the militarist and racist Menachem Begin into power? The world press, understandably concerned with the dangers of a new Middle East war, is focusing on this side of the victorious Likud party's appeal.

But the real reason for the drop in Labor's vote from a solid 42 plurality in 1973 to 26 percent lies elsewhere: in the dissatisfaction at the 40 percent inflation eating away at workers' salaries, in anger at the long list of corruption episodes uncovered over the last few years among high officials—Rabin's American bank account, which caused his downfall, was only a ridiculous fillip—and in a longing for the spirit of national purpose and achievement that inspired the state and its citizens before it got so bogged down in the present mess of balance-of-payments deficits, rising crime, choking taxes, and a third generation of poverty.

Both the Likud, which led the voting with 37 percent (32 percent in 1973), and the new Democratic Movement for Change, led by an amalgam of ex-generals, technocrats and successful professionals whose roots are mostly in the Labor movement (12 percent of the vote), advocated easy-sounding solutions to these problems: electoral reform (the DMC's major plank), more "free enterprise," less government waste, compulsory arbitration and more foreign investment attracted by a more efficient economy.

These promises of change and the Likud's main campaign slogan, describing itself as "the one force capable of changing the regime" prevented a loss of some of its votes to the DMC as well, as had been predicted by some observers. The slogan also limited Gen. Arik Sharon to less than 2 percent. His personality-based ticket, ideologically very close to the Likud, was given much more support in early sample polls.

Another gainer and almost certain coalition partner was the National Religious party, which increased its vote from 8 percent to 10 percent. A perennial supporter of past Labor governments in exchange for economic privilege and theocratic control over major areas of personal life, the NRP could easily make a similar deal with the Likud. Masses of religious youth have been influenced since 1967 by the *Gush Emunim* aggressive settler movement it endorses. With the Likud, the party has committed itself to retention of the West Bank. This also makes it a likely coalition partner.

Together, the Likud, the NRP and Sharon control almost 50 percent of the 120 proportionately-elected Knesset seats. They should have little trouble rounding out a majority with any one or more of the following elements:

- the DMC: It is officially committed to bringing about regional elections within two years, which the Likud is unlikely to want, but lacking the pivotal strength it hoped for between the two major blocs it may agree to less, or it may split, since it is not at all united on many other issues;
- the *Agudat Yisrael* ultra-religious bloc



Menachem Begin with his family.

Photo by UPI

(4 percent), which could easily support the Likud on most political issues in exchange for a bit more religious coercion; • some Labor members—Moshe Dayan for instance—who are politically close to the Likud, flirted with it before the elections and might very well desert their party in exchange for a tempting offer. (It is now rumored Dayan will become foreign minister).

Hawk against hawk.

In 1973 the Labor Alignment was able to avert an expected defeat—after the October War "earthquake"—by coming down hard on the Likud's opposition to the first disengagement agreements and the Geneva conference, which opened just before the balloting. The Likud was successfully painted as the war party. The people wanted and still want peace. Even so, the Alignment lost five seats in 1973 and the Likud gained four.

But since December 1973 the Arabs and Israelis have not reconvened at Geneva; the stalemate has been primarily caused by Israel's refusal, under Rabin the "dove," to meet with any independent Palestinian party, let alone the PLO, to consider the possibility of a Palestinian state or to agree that peace will mean withdrawal from substantially all the ter-

ritories occupied in 1967.

The Likud calls for outright annexation, but it is a Labor government that has maintained military rule for ten years and founded dozens of Jewish settlements in the territories. To win annexationist sympathy, it felt compelled to set up a new Jewish village, Mascha, in a previously uncolonized area, a month before the voting.

Shimon Peres, who won 49 percent of the party vote in February and then took over after Rabin resigned, was identified with the hawkish side of Labor. His feeble attempts to accuse the Likud of warmongering were brilliantly rebutted by Begin in a televised debate on election eve; the latter quoted a Peres article, written a year previously in which he opposed return of any of the West Bank. It was somewhat like Hubert Humphrey in 1968: he could hardly use the peace issue against Nixon, as Johnson did against Goldwater in 1964, after all that had happened in Vietnam.

Still, a Likud government will be different. In the short run, its extreme nationalist shortsightedness is liable to lead to a sharper confrontation with world opinion, including that of the U.S., whose interest dictates a balanced approach to the Middle East conflict, aimed

at meeting certain Arab national demands in order to prop up friendly, conservative regimes. Begin will try very hard to sell the "bulwark against Soviet communism" line, but due to Israel's relative unimportance in the region, Carter is unlikely to buy it.

It remains to be seen whether the new government will be wise enough to bow to pressure or will embark on an adventurist, and ultimately disastrous course of go-it-alone brinkmanship and possible war.

Considering that Israel's war-making ability is so dependent upon American support, however, resolution of the Middle East conflict will, in the long run, hardly be affected by the government turnover. Certain processes may be speeded up or slowed down, but the major factor is still Washington.

New situation for the left.

Israeli society, however, is liable to face unrest and undergo a transformation if the Likud manages to keep power long enough. Likud will attempt to apply its Milton Friedmanist doctrines to lower inflation, with unemployment a likely result. (Likud members met last week

Continued on page 10.

FRANCE

Jean Ellenstein: French Communist takes on the USSR

By Bernard H. Moss

Jean Ellenstein is an enthusiastic and outspoken French Communist who proclaimed himself a Eurocommunist long before the term became acceptable in his party. The author of an important critical history of the Soviet Union, he has come to personify the new liberal anti-Stalinist spirit among French Communists. Local party members are still talking about the heterodox positions—in support of NATO for example—that he took in his own name during the recent parliamentary election in the Latin Quarter.

A university professor who is fond of making unusual and striking declarations, Ellenstein has become the favorite target of those who would like to find the French party guilty of revisionism. When the Soviet critic Yuri Sedov recently attacked his writings in the periodical *New Times*, he was actually aiming at the new democratic trend of the French party itself.

Ellenstein was the first French Communist to undertake a systematic critique of Stalinism in the Soviet Union. The publication of his history of the Soviet Union by the French party in the early 1970s spurred the process of de-Stalinization in the French party itself. His *Stalinist Phenomenon*, first published in 1975 and translated into many languages, has just been published in English by Lawrence and Wishart. In it he attempts to explain the bureaucratic deformation of the Russian Revolution as a product of Russian backwardness and of the errors of both Stalin and Lenin.

A Communist at 16.

Before 1956 and the revelation of Stalin's crimes by Khrushchev, Ellenstein too was a Stalinist. Born into a middle-class family of Polish/Jewish extraction (his grandfather was impressed into the army of the czar), he joined the young Communists at age 16 during the German occupation when his family was forced into hiding. A national leader of the Communist youth organization, he spent three months in Sante prison for his opposition to the war in Vietnam and a year in the underground after the demonstrations against Gen. Matthew Ridgeway in 1953. Hearing of Stalin's death on the radio while in hiding, he remembers, he sobbed for hours. After serving as a party leader in Paris and the suburbs with George Marchais, he returned to the university where he earned a degree in history. He is currently a professor of history at the University of Paris and assistant director of the CERM,

the party's Center for Marxist Research and Study.

Ellenstein's approach to Marxism is anti-dogmatic, open-minded and—one is tempted to say—liberal. For him Marxism is not a compendium of dogmas or recipes for revolution, but a dialectical method of analysis. "We must de-sacrilize the texts of Marx and Lenin," he says, "and use only those concepts that are still applicable today." If Marx and Lenin were able to recognize their errors, he adds, certainly we should be able to do the same. To the Communist philosophers Louis Althusser and Etienne Balibar, who find his approach liberal and eclectic, he replies that his position is closer to that of the party, and that theirs—on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity to smash the state—is speculative and theological. "Their position bears no relation to the situation in France today," he says. "Besides, they have no alternative political propositions to make."

Ellenstein is a firm believer in the virtues of democratic debate and would like to see the views of Althusser aired in the party press. Since 1966, when the party officially recognized the complete freedom of intellectual inquiry among party intellectuals, a thousand flowers have bloomed. Marxist research and inquiry in the party has taken so many directions that it is impossible today to speak of a party position on the theoretical or historical questions. Ellenstein not only approves of this theoretical pluralism, but would like to see it become part of the internal political life of the party. "A way must be found," he says, "to circulate different points of view in the party without creating organized factions."

Ellenstein explains the Stalinist phenomenon essentially as a product of Russian backwardness, of a "gelatinous" society that was traditionally stifled by an autocratic state, of a wage-earning class that was numerically small and a peasantry that was culturally backward. The progress toward democratic participation and enlightenment brought about by the Revolution could not be sustained in the face of imperialist intervention.

The price of survival in a hostile imperialist environment was the imposition of a rigid dictatorship. The party was identified with the state, Lenin with the party, and free discussion in the party limited. Lenin, too, according to Ellenstein, underestimated the importance of democracy as a check against the all-pervasive Russian bureaucracy.



USSR no longer a model.

For him, "the dictatorship established by Lenin already contained the germs of Stalin's bloody despotism." Stalin aggravated the dictatorial tendencies and made them into a permanent system of government.

Ellenstein speaks also of a "Stalinist deviation." Stalin's approach to socialist construction was "voluntarist," his thesis of the intensification of class struggle under socialism "ultra-leftist" and his international line "adventurist." His rapid and forced collectivization of agriculture left it permanently crippled. His international line of class against class facilitated Hitler's rise to power and prevented Western communists from finding their own democratic path to socialism under the Popular Front.

So manifest were his errors that by 1934 the entire Central Committee had resolved to remove him. To remain in power against the will of the party, he had to launch the bloodiest political purge in human history.

Soviet society, thinks Ellenstein, still bears the marks of Stalinism. The process of de-Stalinization was halted in 1964 after the removal of Khrushchev. Since then, he feels, there has been a resurgence of Stalinism, a growing use of repression and administrative means against dissidents. While Ellenstein admits the existence of bureaucratic privilege in the Soviet Union, he denies that the party elite constitute a new ruling class. Their position, he says, de-

pends not on family connections or wealth, but on their service to the party, which is largely composed of industrial workers.

Ellenstein does not question the anti-imperialist role played by the Soviet Union, but doubts that it can any longer serve as a model or inspiration for Western workers to follow even in respect to its social or economic advantages. "The only way in which the Soviet Union serves the cause of socialism in France today is by virtue of its military power, by neutralizing the possibility of American military intervention," Paradoxically, he is equally grateful to the United States and the Atlantic Alliance for making a Soviet intervention against democratic socialism impossible.

In regard to Soviet criticism of his work, he finds it "totally false where specific and vague where unspecified." If he sometimes stresses the negative features in Soviet history, he says, "it is because the Soviets absolutely refuse to admit the existence of Stalinism."

"Furthermore," he adds, "they have systematically distorted my position on democratic socialism."

Ellenstein is impatient and uncompromising on the question of democracy. "We must always respect democratic principles even if it results in temporary setbacks for socialism. I'm prepared to go all the way on this issue. I hope others will follow."

Bernard H. Moss writes regularly from Paris for *In These Times*. He is author of the recently published *Origins of the French Labor Movement*.

Begin ends Labor rule

Continued from page 9.

with Friedman.) The Labor party's main reservoir of support among skilled, better-paid workers, is well organized, and the lower stratum of Jewish workers, whose rightward trend finally gave the Likud its victory, are not likely to remain satisfied for long.

In the past, the labor movement has faced a situation where it was thought to control the society—through large-scale ownership by the *Histadrut* labor federation and through a government con-

trolled Labor party. Now, it faces more direct bourgeois control of government and the economy.

Whether the old social-democratic establishment will be able to purge its ranks and regroup for the battle remains to be seen. Ideologically, it is today far from any crystallized socialist identity, even by West European standards.

The Israeli parties to Labor's left may now finally have some impact if they can overcome their isolation and divisions. Today, they are organized in two major blocs: *Sheli*, which won two seats in the elections and sees itself as the true bearer of the Socialist Zionism abandoned by Labor. Its 25,000-30,000 votes came mostly from students and intellectuals.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, centered around the Communist party, won six seats. Its main support was an absolute majority of Arab vot-

ers, increasingly nationally conscious and seeing the Front as the only voice for their demands.

In addition, the Front won about 10,000 Jewish votes, twice as many as the Communist party, running alone did in 1973. This was thanks to the Black Panther movement of militant Oriental Jewish slum dwellers, which joined the Front and a growing core of other small, independent left groups and individuals who accepted the CP's call for a united peace front (the groups comprising *Sheli* refused) and who believe that a united Jewish/Arab perspective, ruled out by *Sheli*'s insistence on a Zionist identity, will be crucial in building mass opposition to the extreme right and, ultimately, support for a socialist program.

Shock and fear.

Shock, speculation and some fear are

prevalent among that segment of the political spectrum that is clearly opposed to the right-wing government. Shock, because although the trend was clear no one thought it would come so suddenly or decisively. Fear, because there is a real possibility of war and of an assault on democratic rights in Israel.

A movement built on extreme nationalism combined with a vicious anti-left and anti-Arab ideology has been voted into power. The possibility of book-burning and severe repression cannot be ruled out, especially if a situation of "national emergency" is allowed to develop.

Such a regime will not last forever, of course, and may be particularly short-lived if it loses American support. But in the volatile Middle East, a lot of damage can be done quickly.

David Mandel is an editor of the Israeli magazine *New Outlook*.

ARGENTINA

Scandal, anti-semitism rocks regime

By Harvey Levenstein
A mysterious plane crash last August that supposedly killed a prominent Argentine banker has led to an ever-widening chain of arrests that has shaken Argentina's large Jewish community and is threatening the government of General Jorge Videla itself.

The first details of the story leaked out last August from the torture rooms of the Argentine army. There, a treasurer of the Montoneros, Argentina's most prominent urban guerrilla group, revealed that \$17 million of the ransom obtained from a spectacular kidnapping had been deposited with David Graiver, one of Argentina's most prominent bankers, a wealthy and well-known member of its Jewish community. Graiver's family bank had created an investment fund for the Montoneros, who used the profits to finance their operations.

Graiver was in New York when the existence of the fund was discovered, and refused the government's demand that it be given the money. Instead, he made arrangements for the Montoneros to keep the money. Shortly thereafter, on August 6, 1976, he died in a plane crash in Mexico. The Montoneros charged that the CIA had killed him. Others doubted if he was dead at all.

Ordinarily the story would have ended there, with reprisals taken against Graiver's banks and holdings and Graiver written off as a man leading a double life, a wealthy capitalist salving his conscience by secretly helping leftists. But the web is much more tangled than this.

It was thought that Graiver had performed similar services for a wide variety of politicians, reputedly "laundering" illegally obtained funds for ex-president Isabel Peron, assorted corrupt right-wing Peronist labor leaders, and various people connected with the previous military dictatorship of General Alejandro Lanusse. Many of the Lanusse group, especially, have connections with the present military junta.

No one knows what services Graiver was performing for members and supporters of the present junta, but its reaction to the scandal was surprisingly mild. It quickly hushed up the whole affair. Graiver's widow quietly sold her shares in a newsprint company jointly owned with the government to some prominent newspaper supporters of the

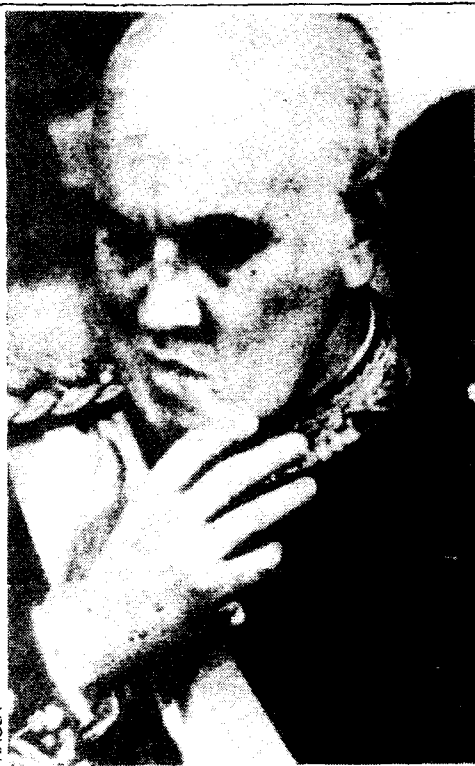
junta, and in return the army left the Graiver family alone.

Hardliners revive the scandal.

Matters rested there until some weeks ago when the scandal was dug up by "hard-liners" inside and outside the army. They have been pressing the Videla government to take an extremely tough line against "subversion" in Argentina. They were shocked at his recent suggestion that within two years civilians might be allowed back in power. They are es-

Jewish owner of *La Opinion*, Jacobo Timerman, a prominent Zionist, was kidnapped by security agents, as were other prominent Jews with links to Graiver. By the end of April, the well-informed correspondent of the London *Financial Times* estimated that more than 300 people had been arrested in the case. Finally, last week, Lanusse himself was arrested. He was charged with having received a kickback on a construction contract awarded during his presidency to Jose Gelbard, a Jewish Peronist who later

A net of intrigue spreads from Gen. Alejandro Lanusse, who stepped aside for Juan Peron's return, to a group of Jewish financiers and publishers, who are suspected of aiding the Argentine guerillas. It may even spread to Argentine dictator Jorge Videla.



pecially suspicious of the group surrounding ex-President Lanusse, which they blame for allowing the Peronists and leftists to return to power initially and suspect of aspiring to do it again.

The scandal was revived in early April with the kidnapping of Lanusse's former press secretary and aide Egardo Sajon by army "commandos" controlled by the hard-liners. Sajon, who is still missing, was the link between the Lanusse group and Graiver. He was on the executive committee of Argentina's most influential newspaper, *La Opinion*, a paper that generally supports Videla. Its printing plant was part-owned by Graiver. Sajon's disappearance was heralded by a "hard-line" paper with the headline: "Three Names in the Dance: Lanusse-Sajon-Graiver."

Then the net spread far and wide. The

became Juan Peron's Minister of the Economy.

Behind the wave of arrests lies the unofficial leader of the "hard-liners," the governor of Buenos Aires province, Gen. Iberico Saint-Jean, a man reputed to have once said: "First we will kill all the subversives; then we will kill their collaborators; then...their sympathizers; then...those who remain indifferent; and finally, we will kill those who are timid." To him and his supporters in the military Videla is, at the very least, timid.

Aiming at Videla.

Videla has been forced to show that he too is interested in prosecuting the case. On April 19 he announced that six members of Graiver's circle, including his father and widow, were being deprived of their civil rights and property and may

be tried by a military tribunal. Two weeks later the government took over the two major Graiver banks. Last week Videla said merely that the courts, military and civil, must decide freely on the cases to be brought to them.

This will hardly satisfy Gen. Saint-Jean and his "hard-liners." They control a system of security forces, torture chambers, and prison camps virtually independent of Videla and the rest of the military government. When he began the campaign, Saint-Jean warned his supporters that the investigation would likely lead to people in very high places. There are suspicions that he is aiming at the very top, perhaps at Videla himself.

Along the way, many other groups fear being trampled, disappearing into army torture chambers, reappearing—if they are lucky—in its concentration camps. The Lanusse group fears decimation, as do many of the prominent members of the Jewish community associated with Timerman and *La Opinion*. Many of the "hard-liners" are rabid anti-Semites. To them, Graiver's connection with the Montoneros has confirmed their long-held belief that there is a vast world-wide conspiracy of international Jewish bankers and Bolsheviks out to subvert Christian civilization. Argentina's Jewish community has been swept by a wave of uneasiness and fear. The president of Argentina's major assembly of Jewish organizations warned of dark, "pogromist" forces threatening the country's Jews.

Even the American ambassador, Robert Hill, has been affected by the scandal. He had recommended Graiver highly to New York bankers last year. Now he has hastily announced that he will be leaving Argentina this month.

Where the investigation will end is anyone's guess. The gruesome fact is that much depends on the army torturers: how much information—true or false—they can extract from their victims. One thing is certain: the scandal is now central to the crucial conflict developing between the army "hard-liners" and Videla's "moderates." One side or the other is going to emerge from it either severely weakened or out of power.

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WORLD IN BRIEF

Korea-

Last week, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff George Brown and Under Secretary of State Philip C. Habib journeyed to Seoul, South Korea, for "consultations" with President Park Chung Hee on the phased withdrawal of American ground troops. President Jimmy Carter has promised to withdraw over a five year period the 25,000 to 30,000 ground troops that are stationed along the border between South and North Korea.

Carter signalled his determination to proceed with the withdrawal when he fired Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub, the chief of staff in South Korea, on the eve of Brown and Habib's departure. Singlaub had been quoted by a May 19 *Washington Post* story as saying, "If we withdraw our ground forces on the schedule suggested, it would lead to war."

South Korean officials have also expressed their displeasure at the troop withdrawal. "If we had our way," one official told the *New York Times*, "the United States would bring in an additional two divisions." But State department spokesmen have stressed that the Brown/Habib discussions are intended as "consultations" and not as "negotiations." In the consultations, South Korean officials

have resigned themselves to seeking an additional \$1.5 billion military aid they say is necessary to compensate for the American withdrawal.

Carter's withdrawal plan seems to have been motivated by a desire to avoid American troop entanglement in a possible ground war between North and South Korea. It is felt that the 625,000 South Korean troops, along with American nuclear-armed air forces, could hold their own.

France

French workers staged a 24-hour general strike last Tuesday to protest government restrictions against wage-hikes. Prime Minister Raymond Barre has decreed that wage hikes can't exceed the rise in the cost of living, as measured by government statisticians. The labor unions charge that the official inflation figures are too low with the result that the government policy could bring a decline in workers' real wages.

The general strike included eight to ten million of France's 22 million workers, making it the largest demonstration since 1968. Schools were closed, public transportation was halted, industry was shut down, and electricity was turned off. France's major labor confederations

were united behind the strike—their first unified action since 1964.

It was seen as a show of strength for France's growing left movement, whose electoral arm, the Socialist/Communist coalition, now gets from 54 to 56 percent in opinion polls when pitted against Giscard d'Estaing and Barre's forces.

USSR

A day before a draft of the new Soviet constitution was to be unveiled, Soviet Union President Nikolai V. Podgorny was removed from the Communist party's ruling Politburo. Podgorny's ouster—*Tass* indicated that the move did not come "at his own request"—was the first change in the Soviet leadership since Nikita Khrushchev's removal 13 years ago. Podgorny was seen with Alexei Kosygin and Leonid I. Brezhnev as the Soviet Union's ruling triumvirate.

Internews reports speculation that Podgorny's removal was linked to his role on the drafting committee of the new Soviet constitution, which will be a revision of the 1936 constitution. For the last five years, there has been intense disagreements about its contents. *Tass* reported that the drafting committee endorsed it "in the main," an indication that there was less than unanimous agreement.

Northeast Africa

The American State department warned Cuba that the arrival in Ethiopia of 50 Cuban advisors, and the expected arrivals of several hundred more, could jeopardize the normalization of U.S./Cuban relations. At the same time, spokesman Hodding Carter III said the State department would give "careful consideration" to the request for military aid that Sudan's president Gaafar al-Nimeiry made to visiting UN ambassador Andrew Young.

Sudan and Ethiopia are on opposite sides of what *Internews* described as a "major realignment of political forces in Northeast Africa." On one side is a conservative alliance between Egypt and the Sudan, supported by the U.S. and Saudi Arabia. On the other side is a loose coalition of Somalia, Ethiopia, and Libya.

But attempts to create a left alliance from the loose coalition have foundered over Ethiopia's unwillingness to grant independence to Eritrea and border disputes between Ethiopia and Somalia. When Fidel Castro toured Africa last March, he unsuccessfully urged a confederation in a secret meeting with leaders of Ethiopia, South Yemen, and Somalia.

THE AMERICAN body politic has a notoriously poor memory and a great tolerance for letter-of-the-law-breaking. No politician has understood and played up on these traits more effectively than Richard Milhouse Nixon, the unindicted co-conspirator of the Watergate cover-up conspiracy.

The four recent television "interrogations" of Nixon by David Frost have thrown some light on how the ploy works. In the first Nixon sternly blames himself for having committed the mistake (not a crime) of being too loyal to his innocent, but somewhat careless associates ("not a good enough butcher"); of having done the wrong thing (in a technical sense) for the right motive; of having been too busy imposing a Pax Nixoniana on the world to take care of details like the plumbers in the White House basement. He revises the facts surrounding his departure to read "self-impeachment," a Draconian penalty that carries with it the most awful of consequences: permanent exile from public office.

By the fourth installment even that has been revised. The former President did not resign (to forestall impeachment) but retired to give the country time to recover from *its* obsession with Watergate! An objective that, one is led to assume, has now been realized.

All this would be for laughs if Nixon's ability to rise from the ashes of political disgrace were not so phenomenal that a *New York Times* columnist (once a Nixon speechwriter) recently drew an analogy between the career of the former President and that of Count Dracula.

There are, of course, written records to jog the memories and harden the hearts of those who take time to read them. There was John Dean's confession; John Erlichman's *romance*; Leon Jaworsky's version of his part in the non-indictment; and the two Bernstein-Woodward books.

And now there is *Stonewall, the Real Story of the Watergate Prosecution*, written by two of the team of eight young lawyers who made up the Watergate Task Force, recruited by Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox and inherited by Jaworsky when he replaced him after the "Saturday night massacre." This account, by Richard Ben-Veniste and George Frampton Jr., is well-written, clear, complete—perhaps a little too complete for readers not interested in the fine points of lawyering, but on the whole good and rewarding reading.

Co-author Ben-Veniste told *IN THESE TIMES* in a recent interview, "*People who've been around longer than I have (Ben-Veniste is 34) worry about a come-back. I can't see it as a possibility. Not that Nixon wouldn't like to do it. And of course he really is the political Undead. Every time the burgomeister gets ready to drive the wooden stake in his heart, Nixon's eyes blink open and he gives the Checkers speech. Maybe everybody walks away and says, 'Well, okay, he's not what he seems to be. As long as he promises to be good and stays away from us...'*"

"*But once the public hears those tapes—and I'm confident they'll be released soon—they will more than counteract any notion of a come-back. They have a very powerful effect. You can't get the nuances from reading the transcript.*"

One of the most dramatic passages in *Stonewall* deals with the impact on the Task Force of the first hearing of the first of the tapes:

One of the tapes released to us by Judge Sirica was that of the March 20, 1973, meeting between Dean and the President, the "cancer on the Presidency" meeting. That was the one we wanted to hear first. There was some fumbling with the tape machine. Although the "record" button had been disabled to eliminate any possibility of accidental erasure—a procedure we fervently wished had been followed elsewhere—we were still nervous about handling the thing. With the exception of the judge and his law clerk nobody outside the White House had ever heard anything like what we were about to hear.

Some of us donned headsets that were plugged into the recorder. Feldbaum

pushed the "play" button, and we were off to the Oval Office. After some banging of doors and scraping of chairs we heard the instantly recognizable voice of John Dean. Just as he had recounted it six months earlier to the Ervin Committee, Dean launched into his "cancer on the Presidency" speech....

What were we listening for? Dean had testified that on March 21 he laid out the cover-up for the President in great detail, making no bones about the illegality of what had been done and the White House involvement in it. In subsequent public statements...the President had [said] that when Dean briefed him on March 21 it was the first time he had any inkling of the cover-up. He was "surprised and

Stonewall

Another lesson of Watergate is that the criminal justice system doesn't work by itself.... Ours must be a government of laws and men.



Prosecutors Richard Ben-Veniste, James Neal and Jill Wine Volner, entering the courtroom on the first day of the Watergate trial.

shocked," he had claimed. Would the tape bear him out?

...Haldeman had testified...that when Dean mentioned a million dollars the President responded, "There is no problem in raising a million dollars, we can do that, *but it would be wrong.*" Our ears were tuned to catch this tiny segment of the conversation: would the tape vindicate Dean, or would it support the President's and Haldeman's version?

As we listened, we heard John Dean lay out for the President of the United States coldly and articulately chapter and verse of the greatest governmental scandal in American history. Seemingly discomfited at first, Dean gained confidence as he went along, picking up one thread after another.... The crimes came spilling out, one on top of another.

And the President: at first he seemed to be taking it all in.... But as Dean began pointing out the vulnerable points in the cover-up and the potential criminal liabilities, Nixon began calmly to interject comments of his own.... Dean described the hush-money operation. The President: "They put that under cover of the Cuban Committee. . . . I would certainly keep that cover, for whatever it's worth, don't you agree?... Dean said that Krogh had perjured himself. Nixon: "Perjury's an awful hard rap to prove." ...The problem of the defendants' demands for more hush money. Nixon: "Let me put it

frankly, I wonder if that doesn't have to be continued." And finally, if Haldeman and others were indicted? The President: "We just better then try to tough it through."

It almost seemed as if the President were trying to soothe Dean, make this jumpy young fellow realize that there was no need to get upset. The President was calm, calculating, bloodless.

We were stunned. Even now it is impossible to describe the depth of our reactions that afternoon. We held no brief for Richard Nixon. President or not, he had set out to destroy our investigation and he was our adversary in the struggle to vindicate it. Yet emotionally we were not unmoved by the prestige of the Presidency, its mythic power....

What we were hearing was a violation of all those deeply embedded emotions. It wasn't so much the substance of the conversation that was shocking as its flavor. There wasn't any moral framework lurking here; there weren't even any moral overtones. This was the amoral intercourse of political technicians. Dean, the more farsighted technician, saw the inevitable denouement. Gently, he was urging the President to cut his losses while he could. Nixon, the canny old politician,...could not relate to Dean's message.... The conversation never touched the question of whether the cover up *should* go on. It was just assumed that a

cover-up had been inevitable up until that time. Despite difficulties ahead, it must in one way or another be continued....

When Haldeman entered the meeting, about halfway through the tape, the three continued to discuss the problems that would be involved in continuing to make hush-money payments. Nobody suggested it would be "wrong" to do it.

Dean, however, cautioned the President that continued payments might not work.... In order to be successful, continued payment of hush money had to be joined with grants of executive clemency. Politically, clemency was out of the question. It was too hot....

"[Then] Dean was telling the President about Howard Hunt's latest demand for money, a demand that had apparently *not yet been satisfied*. And the President was telling him—and Haldeman—what to do about it. This revelation was the most astonishing of all, for we were completely unprepared for it. Before listening to the tape, we had assumed that Hunt's demand to the White House for \$120,000 and the resulting delivery of \$75,000 by Fred LaRue to Hunt's lawyer... had all taken place *before March 21*.... The tape

placed all the facts in a completely new perspective. Hunt's demand for money, it appeared,... was the overhanging threat... that served as a catalyst for Dean's briefing of the President.... He was using it as a lever to prod the President into action that would put an end to the obstruction of justice.

The President understood the danger Hunt posed, but his reaction was different from what Dean had anticipated.... "Don't you... have to handle Hunt's financial situation damn soon?... Otherwise we won't have any options.... Either that or it all blows right now." ... And again, "You've got no choice with Hunt.... You better damn well get that done."

When we finally switched off the Tandberg late that afternoon, we sat motionless—silent, exhausted. We knew that we had turned the corner of Watergate.... Each of us, too, felt a measure of dismay. The ordinary-looking tape reel sitting on the desk in front of us was one of the most sordid, disillusioning pieces of historical evidence in the saga of American government. No one who listened to it could ever again feel quite the same way about the American Presidency.



QUESTION: Why did the Nixon/Frost interviews—at least the first one—draw such a tremendous viewing audience?

ANSWER: People were curious. Nixon had never submitted to questions since the revelation of the tapes. Now he was submitting himself to cross-examination in this bizarre spectacle. And having picked his cross-examiner and set himself up as his own defense lawyer, he proceeded to lose the case.

QUESTION: The polls after the first interview indicated that a lot of people felt some new sympathy for Nixon.

ANSWER: The American people by and large are geared to accepting people who expose themselves the way Nixon did. But that doesn't mean they bought his justifications.

Like his claim that he didn't have a criminal motive; he had a political one. If you analogize it to Candidate Jones, who decides the best way to win an election is to knock off his opponent, Candidate Smith—when it comes to sum up in murder trial if Jones says 'I had nothing against Smith personally; it was political,' there isn't much chance the verdict is going to be influenced by that rationale.

Also I don't think anyone can believe that Nixon's sin was protecting his aides, who were in fact protecting him. The reason for the cover-up was to protect Nixon's political future. There was no other reason.

QUESTION: Why did the cover-up come apart?

ANSWER: It came apart because McCord didn't want to go to jail for a long time and Sirica was going to send him there.... Hunt was a problem, too. He wanted a great deal of money. They were even prepared to go for clemency for him, as the tapes indicate....

But basically, it was that they just didn't run a tight ship... They fought brush fires. The whole brush-fire ad-man psychology that pervaded the White House was applied to this problem.

They never had a coherent strategy. They put it on the shoulders of Dean, who was certainly no criminal mastermind. Besides that, they were talking about making Dean the scapegoat in front of Dean. They said, 'Look Dean, you go out and write a report saying nobody is involved. If this thing comes unstuck, we'll make a statement saying we relied on your report!'

QUESTION: You don't see any danger of a Nixon come-back.

ANSWER: Not to elective office.

QUESTION: Do you see any other danger in the situation?

ANSWER: Well, there's the question of a precedent. I think Nixon's guilt will be a standard that'll be used as the minimum for impeachment of a sitting President, which is a bit frightening since it didn't appear that without the so-called 'smoking pistol tape' that impeachment was inevitable. Yet they had a mountain of evidence without that tape.

Ben Veniste's and Frampton's view of the lessons to be drawn from the Watergate prosecution and its outcome is summarized in the final pages of Stonewall, from which these excerpts are taken:

"The system worked." To many people this was the ultimate lesson of Watergate. The resignation of President Nixon in the face of certain impeachment and the convictions of his associates in the cover-up, many said, proved it. Despite an unprecedented usurpation of executive power, our institutions—the press, the Congress, the criminal justice system, the judiciary—responded to restore a proper, lawful balance.

The truth is, however, that Watergate was a very close call. A more accurate lesson might be: "The system nearly *didn't* work."

In the first place, only through the criminal justice process was it possible to extract the evidence needed to get out the truth. Time and again, Congress proved unable on its own to secure information from the Executive vital to the entire story. Only after repeated court victories by the Special Prosecutor and action by the grand jury did the House Judiciary Committee get the evidence required to build a meaningful case for impeachment of the President. Without our judicially backed trial subpoena, the White House could have defied the Judiciary Committee's demands for more tapes and documents, refused to supply transcripts, and perhaps still have defeated the move for impeachment within the committee.

.... In fact, in the final analysis, throughout Watergate the most troublesome factor the President had to contend with was not the threat of Congress but the extraordinary power of a single federal trial judge. It was Judge Sirica's (sometimes criticized) use of his sentencing authority over the Watergate burglars that was instrumental in exposing the cover-up; his right to hold public hearings in open court that revealed the shocking details of missing and erased tapes, and seriously damaged White House credibility; and his power to demand production of evidence on pain of punishment for contempt of court that forced President Nixon to reverse his position after the Saturday Night Massacre, and then later to produce a second batch of tapes that cost him the Presidency.

Yet the criminal justice system itself almost didn't work. For over nine months it was successfully obstructed by the White House and the Nixon campaign committee. Supervision of the case then had to be taken out of "the system" and put into the hands of a Special Prosecutor who wielded unusual independence and occupied an unfamiliar position of institutional limbo. Even then, the autonomy supposedly guaranteed the Special Prosecutor did not deter, as it should have, constant pressure from the White House, culminating in the eventual firing of Archibald Cox. That act, if handled more skillfully, might well have succeeded in terminating a thorough, uninhibited criminal investigation. Finally, the criminal justice process was abruptly cut off in one important aspect by the pardon granted to Richard Nixon by the man personally elevated to the Presidency. The system did not permit a final resolution of Nixon's guilt. The opportunity was enhanced for Nixon and those who served him at the end to put their own, self-serving "revisionist" interpretations on the history of Watergate.

Insofar as the criminal justice process did succeed, it was mainly because of Richard Nixon's ineptness, revealed in a series of miscalculations and mistakes by the President and his cohorts. What if Nixon had destroyed his tapes in July 1973? Without Nixon's extraordinary

bungling, without an extraordinary display of public outrage when the President sought to defy a clear court order, without the courage of a few judges and legislators, it might all have turned out differently.

Did the system work? True, the nationally televised debate and vote on articles of impeachment was a shining hour for the House Judiciary Committee. But all in all, the total course of the committee's investigation exposed the extreme political nature of impeachment. The cumbersomeness of the process, its politicization and the unwillingness of so many in Congress to recognize objectively the stark facts of criminal wrongdoing that were put in front of them make the Nixon impeachment case an unpromising precedent. Next time, might it not be a potent defense for a President charged with wrongdoing to argue that his conduct, however improper, fell short of the spectacularly widespread abuses of the Nixon administration? If Watergate, or more, is what it takes to galvanize the impeachment mechanism, can we really rely on it to protect us in the future against gross Executive wrongdoing?

.... Another lesson of Watergate is that the system doesn't work by itself. When Archibald Cox was fired on the night of October 19, 1973, his one-sentence statement posed the question "whether ours shall continue to be a government of laws, not of men." Watergate—indeed Cox himself—proved that whether we care to admit it or not ours must be a government of laws *and* men.

.... The independence of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force and the vitality of the criminal justice system would have been for naught without the political accident that yoked President Nixon's fortunes in May of 1973 to a man of integrity and independence like Cox. It was Cox's resolve to mount a truly thorough investigation that made the system work, not the charter insisted upon by the Senate Judiciary Committee. Had Cox been less adamant about assembling a highly professional staff, and we less intent upon using our power cautiously and responsibly, the effectiveness of our investigation could have been undercut by a political backlash long before any indictments were returned. Had Nixon not misjudged Leon Jaworski, a man who, once convinced by the evidence, was determined to see the criminal investigation through to a proper conclusion and the President removed from office, he might have served out his term of office to the end.

In the same vein, it was two aggressive young reporters and a handful of supportive editors—hardly representative of the national media establishment—who first bombarded Congress and the public with the possibility of cover-up in Watergate, insuring that it became a national issue that would have to be investigated by Congress. It was the unique talents of a former government civil rights lawyer, John Doar, and a Congressman from Newark, New Jersey, Peter Rodino, that breathed life into the impeachment inquiry. It was a 72-year-old Republican federal judge who in the twilight of his career decided that the President of the United States, like any other citizen, was obliged to obey the law and provide criminal evidence—and was in the end backed up by a unanimous Supreme Court, including four justices appointed by Richard Nixon.

Without all of these men, we might not have had a "government of laws."

STONEWALL

by Richard Ben Veniste and George Frampton Jr.

Simon and Shuster, New York, \$11.95

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

The progress of poverty

The impending disaster in the social security system, as Department of Health, Education and Welfare experts have called it, is not a simple matter of one more instance of "big government" incompetence. Nor is it an unfortunate outcome of sudden shifts in population trends. It is rather a basic consequence of the obsolescence of the capitalist market system in relation to modern human needs and social goals.

President Carter's reform proposal of May 9 is designed to avoid insolvency in social security financing within the obsolescent corporate framework. Like all reforms of this sort, it would buy time without providing better treatment of our aged and disabled. It would ameliorate effects while sustaining their causes, and in many important ways would make matters worse than before.

The obsolescence of the corporate investment-pricing system lies in its systematically wasteful and socially deleterious misallocation of resources in relation to the economy's real capacities and people's needs.

In particular it allocates income—legal command of goods and services—not according to those capacities and needs but to power in a rigged market. The social dislocations it causes generally, and in particular among our youth, minorities, aged and disabled, who are without market power, are left to the public to deal with. But the public has no direct or effective control over the investment-price system and must attempt a reappropriation of income through taxation.

Taxation within the bounds of the corporate investment system, however, becomes part of the general network of artificial prices and inequitable incomes. Taxes withdraw income from workers already lacking in purchasing power. Workers pay those taxes twice—first in direct tax payments on wages, and second on prices they pay for goods and services. The prices of labor, goods and services, which include the tax component, in turn become the determinants of how much government must appropriate and pay out to rectify social inequities (as well as to create them, and for other purposes). The result is a vicious circle of rising prices and rising taxes, that is, endemic inflation.

Price-tax derangement.

Given the corporate-controlled market system, the entire burden of income allocation falls on prices of goods and services, divided into wages, profits, interest, rent (including land values). Prices reflect not real costs but the income-allocating patterns determined by monopolistic market power. The public is left to attempt reallocation of income by taxes that chase after and push up these artificial prices.

The price-tax system enforces the profit-making power of the corporations, and it mystifies and deranges the real modern capacities for producing and supplying what is socially needed. It makes it appear that we in the U.S. can't "afford" adequate housing, schools, health care, nutrition, transportation, etc., when it is obvious in physical terms that as a people comprising about 5 percent of the world's population and controlling one-third or more of its wealth, we in the U.S. have more than enough to go around.

The mystification and derangement are seen operating no more perversely and cruelly than in the social security system and Carter's plan for reforming it.

Even without the limits of capitalism, income and services for the aged and disabled could conceivably be allocated by appropriating and redistributing superfluous wealth, that is, by taxing the rich

Carter's plan would perpetuate a social security system deformed and constricted by the corporate market-investment system. It does not provide for increased benefits; it takes not even a small step toward progressive and graduated payroll taxes, but leaves the rich paying lower rates than the lower and middle income workers. It will mean more inflation as employers plug higher payroll taxes into prices and as workers respond by seeking wage increases. And it sustains class discrimination and poverty for most of our aged and disabled by keeping benefits tied to the wage system.

and excessive corporate profits. American capitalists, insisting on their accustomed permissiveness in profit-making as the ransom for investing, have successfully prevented that dispensation.

Instead, since the social security system was established in 1935, it has been based on taxing wages—a payroll tax—whereby the employed sector of the working class transfers income to the unemployed, aged and disabled. It has never involved a redistribution of income between the propertied and labor. The rich receive welfare through the price-profit system—for them there is such a thing as a free lunch—the working class pays for its own.

Formally, the worker pays half and the employer half of the payroll tax. But in fact the whole of it is part of the workers' wage, is put down as a business expense by the employer, plugged into the price of the goods or services, and deducted by the employer from the federal income tax on the enterprises' income. The result is higher prices, lost current income to workers, and lost tax revenues to the government—and in turn, workers seeking higher wages, government borrowing and raising tax rates, and employers raising prices.

Regressive tax and paltry benefits.

As an exclusive levy on wages, the social security tax is as regressive as the sales tax, only more so. At the present rate of 11.7 percent (5.85 percent deducted directly from the gross wage), it is the fastest growing tax rate on income. Levied on wages up to \$16,500, the person making a \$100,000 salary pays \$980 (on the 5.85 percent basis), or less than one percent of that income, while the workers pay the full rate and can afford losing the purchasing power least.

The social security levy is an income surtax on wages, on top of federal and state or local income taxes, sales and excise taxes. Basing provision for the aged and disabled on taxing wages has meant meager funding, for there is just so much taxation that wages can bear.

But more than this, benefits are paid out as a percentage of retirees' pre-retirement wages, so that they have to make do with monthly poverty-level payments ranging from \$200 to \$360, too little to cover their housing, health, food and other needs which must be made up by auxiliary government "welfare" programs tied into private exploitation of the poor and aged.

If a retiree under 72 years old is still alive and chooses to work, he or she loses \$1 in benefits for every \$2 earned over \$3,000 per year. But affluent retirees with income from savings, investments, or private insurance, are subject to no such penalty.

The social security system, then, tells the working-class aged that it is better not to be useful, and that their reward for a life-time of work is to suffer the indignities of class discrimination and poverty to the grave. Workers' trade unions have sought amelioration in pension programs through collective bargaining. The corporations then pass along the costs in higher prices.

Corporate executives, members of Congress, Presidents and military officers regard themselves as too good to subject themselves to the indignities of the social security system of "benefits." They have provided separate retirement and medical care systems for themselves which bestow real benefits. General Singlaub, for example, having been recalled from Korea, can retire with a pension at something over \$2,000 per month, seven to ten times what retired workers get

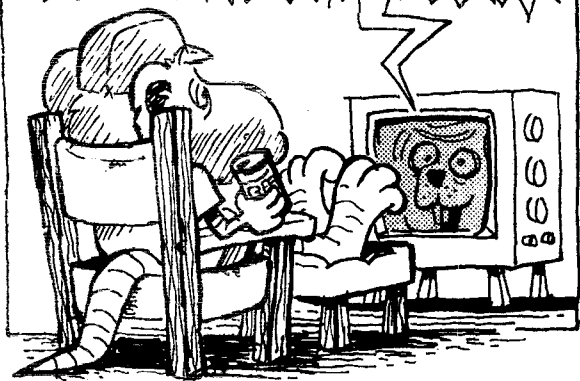


Jim Yanagisawa

Continued on page 15.

THE FACTORY WITH RATSUS

TONIGHT, CHANNEL 5 NEWS BRINGS YOU ANOTHER SPECIAL REPORT ON CHILD **PORNOGRAPHY**

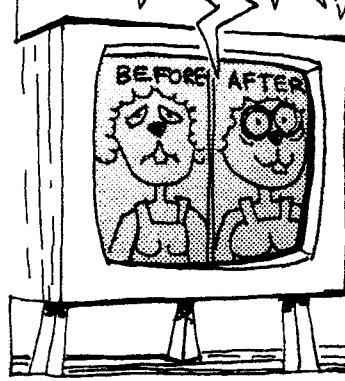


THEN OUR RESIDENT PSYCHOLOGIST INTERVIEWS A "SEXUAL SURROGATE."



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AND OUR MEDICAL EDITOR WILL DISCUSS **BREAST ENLARGEMENT** THROUGH **HYPNOSIS**



MUST NOT HAVE BEEN ANYBODY KILLED TODAY.



Letters

This is what happens to letters over 250 words

Editor:

Thank you for publishing my letter on Zionism in the May 18-24 issue. However, in editing the letter you changed my meaning. In the published version of my letter your paper read:

The PLO, on the other hand, has continually advocated a secular-democratic state of Israel because Israeli law is both *de jure* and *de facto* discriminatory.

The letter I sent you said the following:

The PLO, on the other hand, has continually advocated a secular-democratic state in Palestine for both Arabs and Jews. It has opposed the state of Israel because the Israeli system of law is both *de jure* and *de facto* discriminatory.

To anyone acquainted with Middle-Eastern politics, the former passage appears absurd while the latter does not.

Other than this, I have largely enjoyed your paper and urge you to continue your relatively broad coverage of foreign affairs.

—Tomis Kapitan
Bloomington, Ind.

Israelis & leftists

Editor:

I was pleased to see Mitch Cohen's article "Israeli New Left Unites for Elections" in *ITT*. You should be commended for publishing articles about the left opposition within Israel instead of ignoring like most American leftist publications do.

But there are some problems with Cohen's article. His basic approach that the electoral front "Sheli" is the Israeli new left, the new coalition and the only serious alternative for Israeli doves is misleading. He dismisses the other left electoral coalition, "Hadash" (which received three times as many seats in parliament as "Sheli"), because its largest component is "Rakach," the pro-Israeli Communist party. While not denying that Rakach is pro-Soviet, Hadash also includes the Israeli Left Socialist group, AKI, about 15 Arab local council heads, the Druze Initiating Committee, the Israeli Arab Students' Union, many professors and kibbutzniks, and the Israeli Black Panthers (contrary to what Cohen reports, the Black Panthers voted to join Hadash as an organization; Saadia Marciano split from the organization and joined Sheli as an individual). This is what Cohen writes off in one paragraph as a front running with "several smaller groups."

Hadash proposed a united front for the elections of all leftist and dovish groups, bypassing differences on the USSR and Sheli rejected it. Cohen reports that clashing positions on the USSR is the cause of this. But both coalitions have varying views on the USSR within them—Hadash ranging from

staunchly pro to very critical, Sheli from sympathetic to rabidly anti. And with all the just criticism of Rakach notwithstanding, it does command the support of the vast majority of Israeli Arabs. Any serious leftist opposition in Israel must include both Arabs and Jews.

—Carl Goldman
Takoma Park, Md.

Gay news

Editor:

This is a request that news of the gay struggle appear regularly. There is a bitter lack of progress in this area and we need all the help we can get, the most important sort being the broadening awareness that can be accomplished through journals such as yours. Faced with the Anita Bryant-inspired backlash and the predictions of Congresswoman Elaine Noble (*Advocate* interview, June 1) hope grows faint.

If knowledge of the implications of, and support for the gay movement are to gain ground, news of its progression (or retrogression) will have to be available from sources other than those aimed exclusively at the homosexual community. You can do us a great service simply by keeping your readership informed.

Thanks for an otherwise highly informative newspaper.

—Don Wolff
Denver, Colo.

Speak NOW

Editor:

Thank you for your excellent coverage

of the NOW national conference. I am president of Macomb County NOW, one of the host chapters.

I've read many reports on the conference, particularly those in socialist papers, and feel yours was by far the most objective, honest and accurate.

As a NOW member I thank you for your insight and your willingness to write the story without distorting it.

A beautiful piece of feminist journalism.

—Carol King
Detroit, Mich.

Excited

Editor:

I am excited about *IN THESE TIMES*. That I could read *any* newspaper cover to cover and find it not only fascinating but encouraging and exciting is astounding. It's great to have a national newspaper. I hope you stay around for a long time.

I'm a member of a Tzedakah collective which is considering buying subscriptions to *ITT* for all its members (about 10). I want to add that I especially appreciate your seemingly fair coverage of Middle East events (especially recently).

Keep up the good work!

—Ruth Mason
New York

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

The progress of poverty

Continued from page 14.

from social security payments.

Is the human dignity of a retired general seven to ten times greater than that of a worker?

Carter's proposal.

Even with its inadequate benefit payouts, the social security system as now constituted requires full employment for its long-term solvency. The administration has revealed in debates over Carter's proposal, that it does not expect the official unemployment rate to fall below 6 percent before 1979, and social security administrators in projecting their deficit estimates, are assuming around a 7 percent or higher unemployment rate through 1981.

Under current law, the payroll tax will rise to 6.05 percent (12.1 percent) in 1978 and 6.3 percent (12.6 percent) by 1981, and the taxable wage-base will rise in stages to \$23,400 by 1982. Carter's proposal would continue with the regressive tax rate hike, but accelerate the rise in the wage-base to \$24,600 by 1982, upon which the employee is formally taxed. It would raise even more rapidly the wage-base upon which the employer is "taxed," and by 1981 apply that tax to the entire

salary. It would also transfer funds from general revenues to the social security funds in years when unemployment rises over 6 percent, and make this provision retroactive to 1975.

But it would at the same time reduce the increases in benefits by "decoupling" adjustments based on the level of current average wages from those based on the rate of price inflation. And since benefits are paid in proportion only to the employee's side of the payroll tax, "uncapping the employer side," "is a way to make [the employee] pay more into the system without the compensation of higher withdrawals from it later," as the *Wall Street Journal* noted (May 13). Indeed, administration officials are pointing out to the private insurance industry that its plan would avoid increasing real benefits and hence maintain "the market for the private pension system" (WSJ, May 9).

The Carter plan, then, would perpetuate a social security system deformed and constricted by the corporate market-investment system. It does not provide for improved benefits; it takes not even a small step toward progressive and graduated payroll taxes, but leaves the rich paying lower rates than the lower and middle income workers.

Carter's plan will mean more inflation as employers plug higher payroll taxes into prices, and as workers seek to make up for more lost income through current wage increases. It posits continuing high unemployment in providing for drawing from

general revenues. And it sustains the inequalities of class discrimination and of poverty for most of our aged and disabled by keeping benefits tied to the wage system. It would, it is true, for the first time make the rich pay back something for their exploitative privileges, but without barring them from recouping even that pittance through their control of the price and profit system.

A better legacy than Carter's.

This is the legacy Carter's plan envisages for our parents and grandparents, our children and grandchildren, and ourselves, for now and the next century. It is probably as "progressive" and generous a measure for the aged, disabled and poor as can be expected from a cautious leader of the modern obsolescent corporate system. Carter is no Scrooge. But even a well-intentioned reformer, if committed to limiting social programs to what the corporate system will allow, cannot do much better than promote tiny timid schemes.

A proper provision for the aged and disabled will have to allocate income socially rather than as an appendage to the private market system, in a way that is independent of taxes upon wages and the immediate prices of goods and services. Such provision, which would accord the aged and disabled dignified work if they want it, adequate material and cultural facilities, the income to exercise free discretion as well as to provide for necessities, and the opportunity to lend

their talents and wisdom to the young and to society as a while, will be possible only through a system of allocation according to needs and social goals.

That would require an allocation program unfettered by the present corporate price-tax-investment system and on non-actuarial, non-insurance lines. To achieve such a program will require going beyond reform to socialism and a fuller democracy where government serves the people instead of the perpetuation of corporate power.

As long as corporate capitalism is secure, social insecurity will continue. ■

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American party system faces a political crisis

By Jim Livingston

The political analysts who last year were celebrating the "new conservatism" of the American people are quieter now. They may only be taking a breather. But more likely they are recognizing the mood of the American electorate as anything but conservative in the traditional sense.

Most of the evidence shows that the party system is in a profound state of crisis because the two major parties are not presenting the voters with satisfactory political choices. As political scientist Walter Dean Burnham puts it, the "top elites of both major parties" have failed to offer American voters an adequate perceived choice on issues "at a time when they very much want to make one." This is contributing to the "onward march of party decomposition."

Research on the development of the American party system indicates a turning point in an electoral cycle that began about 1948-1950. The "politics of consensus," the days of modest polarization within the electorate are gone, but they have not been replaced by a new political agenda or new social-ideological alignments.

Similar phases of the electoral cycle were followed by "critical realignment," in which national policy agendas were broadly redefined and party identities and alignments reconstructed. Such realignments took place prior to the Civil War (1854-1860), during the crisis that ended America's first industrialized epoch (1892-1900), and as the U.S. entered its greatest depression (1928-1936).

The present political crisis will not inevitably lead to the emergence of an avowedly revolutionary party. The only certainty is that if socialists do not seize the opportunity offered by the erosion of postwar political and ideological alignments, the party system will simply continue to disintegrate, and social questions will continue to be privately "managed" by corporate technicians.

Political scientists generally agree that party loyalties have been weakened to the point where the U.S. has become a "nation of electoral transients." And voters identifying themselves as independents now comprise over one-third of

the electorate: they outnumber the "strong" Democrats and all Republicans.

The rapid growth of split-ticket voting since 1948 is another indication of the decline in partisan identification. That year only 38 percent of voters split their ballots; by 1972 62 percent of the electorate did so.

In recent years a larger division among electoral coalitions in the U.S. has emerged. The once real correlation between voting coalitions in presidential elections and in congressional elections has all but disappeared. The result is a kind of "four party system," composed of presidential Republicans and Democrats and congressional Republicans and Democrats. For example, in 1972 Nixon carried a total of 377 congressional districts, but the same districts elected 189 Democrats and 188 Republicans to Congress. In 1976, two regions that Carter lost—the Midwest and the West—returned solid Democratic majorities to Congress; and, according to Harris surveys, a two-to-one majority of suburban residents, a segment of the electorate that Ford won handily, is "highly optimistic" about the probable performance of the Democratic Congress.

Meanwhile, over the last two decades, turnover rates in the House reached new lows just as the presidency began to change parties frequently. This has made for destabilization of domestic policy making—in the parlance of the Trilateral Commission, a "crisis of Governability."

Voter disaffection and turnout.

A large majority of the public has come to feel profound discontent with government, and has lost confidence in the capacity of the existing social system to deliver on its promises of mobility and affluence developed between 1966 and 1973, according to a Harris survey commissioned by Congress. This discontent is mirrored in the steady decline in voter turnout over the last 16 years.

A significant dimension of the pattern of voter turnout and partisan identification has not yet been fully analyzed. However, Burnham and others have suggested that a behavioral linkage connects non-

voting and high levels of issue awareness among independents. Large numbers of independents who score high on issue awareness and ideological consistency are a new phenomenon in modern American electoral history.

Independents in the past were comparatively confused about the political choices available to them, and often abstained from political activity for that reason. The "new independents" do not abstain from participation in the electoral process from confusion on issues, but from the perception that existing parties and programs offer inadequate choices.

Issue salience and activism.

The ideological maturity of the new independents is undoubtedly part of a larger shift toward increasing "issue salience" and "activism" in American politics. New research has shown that the events and campaigns of the 1960s made politics more relevant and dramatic to the mass electorate and that the political lessons learned during the '60s continue to shape voting behavior and issue awareness in the '70s. Clearly, all age groups, races, religions, and classes are more aware of the differences (or lack of differences) between parties and are more attuned to their own issue preferences than they were prior to 1964.

Indeed, one motivation of the new research is the concern that the mass electorate has become so "ideological" that political stability in the U.S. could be completely undermined in the near future.

Many political scientists believe that the origin of this increasingly ideological bent of American politics lies in the emergence of new cadres of "activists" in both parties. These activists see their respective parties as means, not ends. They are more interested in programs and principles than in immediate electoral successes or the institutional life of their parties. The reforms of delegate selection ratified by both parties in 1972, the Democrats' programmatic convention in Kansas City in 1974, and the growth of Reagan's influence in the Republican party are indications of activist strength.

But some activist influence may be overrated. For example, the Reaganites' purity on questions of government spending and interference in the "free market" is not shared by the electorate at large, whether Democrat, Republican or Independent. Harris survey data show unmistakably that an overwhelming majority of the American public assume the need for an active federal government because they recognize that American social problems cannot be solved by private means.

The mass electorate may well be more or less "conservative" in its stance on many of the cultural issues raised over the last 15 years. But according to the new research, that conservatism is "clearly not of the pro-business sort" when it comes to questions of political economic policy. This reading of the voting public's mood is confirmed by the fact that Republican losses in 1974 were concentrated on the far right wing of the party.

So what?

The evidence assembled by political scientists over the last few years makes it clear that the American party system is being subjected to pressures that have seriously eroded its capacity to shape political discourse according to traditionally liberal or conservative notions. The mass electorate has shown that it is capable of taking up consistent ideological positions, including those still excluded by the two major parties from the mainstream. Moreover, it is apparent that the American electorate is now willing to make political choices that have not been offered to it as such by the two major parties.

Socialists are obliged by the needs of their potential constituencies to enter the mainstream of American politics, the better to widen the span. Great segments of the American people are ready for new choices on issues—they do not want merely to register their protest against the lack of choices. They are accessible, in short, to a socialist electoral politics that takes seriously their capacities as responsible citizens.

Gau-che-rie *n.* 1. awkwardness; clumsiness; tactlessness. 2. an awkward or tactless movement, act, etc. (tr. F., der. *gauch*, awkward, lit., left [hand]).

The Gaucherie column is open to dialogue and debate among socialists and leftists over principles, strategy and tactics. It will serve to promote the democratic exchange of views among socialists and leftists in a public forum.

The Trumpet & the Ladder

I. The Trumpet.

One of the standard trumpets of despair on the left wails the small prospects for publicly propagating socialism in the U.S. in the face of supreme difficulties: American workers are "so backward," they are afraid of the word "socialism," their indoctrination against "communism" blinds them to their own better well-being; capitalism delivers "too much affluence" to too many workers; there hasn't been a decent depression in decades (except for the one we're in now); the mass media is all-powerful and closed to socialist ideas; cynicism and apathy ride the land; the FBI and the CIA are on the case. The explanations are endless.

The underlying reasoning is a species of that old vicious circle. Its central syllogism goes like this:

- A socialist movement requires a strong party with a mass base among the workers and other social strata;
- but such a strong party is impossible because of the "ideological backwardness" of the people;
- a socialist mass movement is therefore

impossible until the masses become more receptive to the socialist left.

How are the people to become more receptive to the socialist left if socialists are not publicly propagating socialism to dispel the people's "backwardness"? What is the saving loop-hole out of the vicious circle? Not a socialist left, so the trumpet blows, that propagates socialism popularly—because the people would not be receptive; they are not "ready"—at least not for the real thing in its glowing purity. Then what? The age-old answer for the past 40 years has been: The natural evolution of "objective conditions" which, at their "crisis" point, will drive an opening wedge of receptivity. Predetermination is alive and well in Sodom.

The old social-democrats looked to the gradual evolution of capitalism into socialism via protest and piecemeal reform. The "new" social-democrats dropped the socialist goal altogether. The sectarians await the evolution of capitalism into a breakdown as the prelude to revolution. Meantime they cheer along and groove upon a "Third World" as the harbinger of the second coming while in public protesting along reformist lines in the First.

In whatever key the trumpet blows, it mutes the role of socialists as participating in the public propagation of socialist consciousness among the people.

In both variations socialism remains a far-away look in their respective eyes. When the people, in the face of "objec-

tive conditions," and in view of reforms that strengthen the power of capital, follow Roosevelts or Huey Longs in the 1930s, and Humphreys or Carters, Wallaces or Reagans, today, and not socialists—since socialists had not been previously propagating a working-class socialist identity nor building an explicit socialist political power in society—the Trumpeters reprise with the contrapuntal exchange between those among them who blame "objective conditions" for not being "worse" enough, and those who blame the people for not being good enough. A battle of the brass above the people below.

The standard new left and old left trumpets harmonize essentially a passive elegy on revolution: a mournful but comforting revolution-made-easy theme for those doting on revolutions past but in reality engaging in the present in quite normal vocations or benevolent avocations or clinging to the social and psychic security of small congenial groups.

It expresses an outlook of avoidance, one that obviates the discomfort of recognizing that building a popular socialist movement is not a far-off romance of a great popular moment-of-truth when the people in distress dramatically embrace the left as their savior crying, "You were right, forgive us for we knew not what to do"—although how it is that the people would respond when socialists had previously been saying nothing *as socialists* to the people due to their supposed unreceptivity, remains unclear.

The rise of a socialist movement capable of achieving popular authority has never in history been such a romance. Rather, the growth of socialism in the U.S., as elsewhere, may be expected to require a protracted, arduous, democratic and joyous labor, however dangerous,

involving the public commitment of life, liberty, and reputation (not to mention fortunes and honor) to the explicit propagation of socialist programs and ideas suited to the American working class' political culture.

It will require ongoing political education and agitation in the American vernacular that goes beyond the recitation of "correct" words and righteous slogans.

The growth of socialism in the nation's public politics will take day in and day out socialist "machine politics" in the precincts, the wards, the districts, among the poverty-stricken and unemployed, among the middle income workers and other social strata, in places of work and community affairs, together with diligent study and cultural work, journalistic writing and broadcasting, public debate and discussion. It will take, that is, sustained electoral and non-electoral politics, in the course of disseminating and agitating publicly in the here and now socialist ideas, programs and goals; so that socialists in the United States by the hundreds, by the thousands, by the millions, may become daily engaged in changing their world.

That kind of activity, commitment and dedication has taken root across the U.S. in the past decade, and is just beginning to display itself in a multiplicity of budding political, civic, cultural and intellectual movements. Instead of greeting those movements with a hearty cultivation, the Trumpeters incline to respond to them with preemptive disdain or condescension, playing them down, cutting them to pre-conceived size or drowning them out.

The Trumpeters are wailing against the grain. They might better stop, look, and listen.

—Martin J. Sklar
Part II, The Ladder, next week.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

EDUCATION

Keep business out of the lunchroom

By Peter Dreier
and Stefan Ostrach

EUGENE, ORE.—Parents and cafeteria workers joined together recently and convinced the local school board here to reject a "corporate takeover" of the district's lunch program. Similar efforts around the country are beginning to blunt a corporate drive against the nation's school lunchrooms.

Feeding school children for profit is a taxpayer subsidy of the private sector granted by the Nixon White House.

Responding to widespread publicity about hunger in America, including broadcast network programs and a *New York Times* series, President Nixon convened a White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health in December 1969. Chaired by Harvey T. Stephens, executive vice president of ARA Services Inc., the country's largest food service management company, and Hartley W. Howard, a Borden executive, the panel urged the President to declare a national hunger emergency and to expand federal food programs.

One of the panel's few specific recommendations was that school districts should be able to contract with food service management concerns, "without penalty of losing any financial or commodity assistance from any governmental agency." Unlike many presidential commission recommendations, this one was quickly put into effect.

In 1970 the Department of Agriculture issued new regulations for school feeding programs, providing that "Any school food authority may employ a food service management company." This opened the way for private companies to enter the school lunch market.

A profitable business.

Since 1970, ARA, Interstate United, Saga and Servomation, the four largest such companies, and a host of smaller enterprises, wooed school boards, selling themselves as a panacea to school districts' fiscal dilemmas.

The school lunch program is an attractive market for these firms. Unlike airports, factories, race tracks and other facilities that are subject to the ups and downs of the business cycle, school lunch programs provide a steady demand, as well as government subsidies. In the school lunch program food companies have an advantage enjoyed by military contractors—a large market backed by tax dollars and involving little risk. In one year—between 1970 and 1971—institutional food service sales increased from \$476 million to \$5.2 billion, more than 10 times.

These companies are involved in a wide range of profitable but nutritionally dubious activities: vending machines and snack bars in office buildings, factories, hospitals, nursing homes, college campuses and other facilities. But public schools have become an important part of their business. ARA, for example, had 16.1 percent of its sales and 18.4 percent of its profits in schools in 1975.

Oregon.

The food service companies have won contracts at ten school districts in Oregon and Washington. They now serve 10 percent of Oregon school lunches.

Like many cities, Eugene's schools face a budget crunch. Noting that the schools were losing money on food, school board members recommended that they seek out private companies to get on a break-even basis.

Several companies jumped at the chance. They couldn't lose money, and, as one put it, "As your food service op-



The school lunch program is an attractive market for private firms. Unlike other markets that are subject to the ups and downs of the business cycle, school programs provide a steady demand as well as government subsidies.

erator, we will be entitled to receive all federal, state, and local reimbursement on your behalf.... We will also be entitled to receive on your behalf USDA commodities and/or cash in lieu of commodities."

Parent and community opposition.

But a group of parents and cooks challenged the companies' promises, put together an impressive array of counter evidence and packed school board meetings to protest losing local control of their children's diets to outside, profit-making corporations.

The parents groups' research revealed that the corporations' profit orientation led to restaurant-like gimmicks like an "Alaska Purchase" menu consisting of a polar burger deluxe, gold nuggets, Klondike Krunch, and Seward's Sip, as well as

rainbow stripes for the sleeves of lunchroom workers' uniforms, but not to better nutrition. Corporate-style efficiency led to "satelliting" preparation of meals in a central kitchen and subsequent distribution to individual schools. Satelliting makes food cold, soggy, and less healthful.

Experience from nearby school districts confirmed these findings. Corvallis, which hired ARA to run its school lunch program in September 1975 reversed its decision last month and will return to a public-run program. "They didn't improve things at all," said Guy Hendrix, a school board member who led the fight against ARA. "If anything it went downhill."

In nearby Bethel School District, parents complained of scanty portions, and cooks complained of speed-ups by the

efficiency-minded ARA. Meals were starchy, vegetables stale and popular cafeteria workers had been laid off.

Parents, cooks, and state officials complained that despite cost-cutting techniques, the private food companies were not saving the taxpayers' money. At Bethel, for example, ARA's contract called for six percent of net proceeds as well as an \$18,000 annual salary to an ARA food program co-ordinator who so antagonized cooks and parents that the school superintendent fired her and gave ARA 30 days to improve its service.

A counter-trend.

Richard Miller, director of the Oregon State Department of Education office that administers \$17 million in U.S. Department of Agriculture subsidies in the state was skeptical about private companies as well. "The corporations promise to save money and increase [student] participation," said Miller. "All of these promises are wrong. They haven't done any of them."

His assistant Len Isaacs added, "All educational programs lose money. I don't know why anyone should think that a lunch facility should make money or should pay its own way. Do we ask that about math or science?" Instead, Isaacs said, "we should think of lunch programs as part of the students' education—diet and nutrition."

Isaacs said that school districts could lighten the load by hiring qualified nutritionists and food managers and use the "management fee" now garnered by private firms for better equipment and improved food, thereby increasing participation in the programs. He said that statewide experience with private companies has brought about a "change in thinking," a counter-trend away from private contracting.

Bringing in "common sense."

The Eugene school lunch committee's success can be attributed to their well-organized campaign. As soon as word got out about the invitation to private firms to take over food service, a small group of parents called a public meeting; 65 people showed up. Among those attending were a number of school cooks, concerned about food quality and their jobs, as well as local hunger activists.

A number of the parent leaders had experience in Eugene's anti-war and counter-culture movements. Others were becoming politically active for the first time. They relied on common sense and advice from sympathetic experts and consumer advocates.

They organized subcommittees to do further research, to inform the local media, and to use petitions and letter-writing campaigns appealing to parents to protect their children's diets from junk food profiteers.

After voting to reject the private firms' bids, the school board appointed a task force of parents, local businessmen, cooks, and others to investigate alternative approaches to the school lunch program.

Eugeneans are pleased to have defeated the "corporate takeover" of their children's diets. In spite of fiscal constraints, the cook and parents won a victory for human needs over private profit. They brought "common sense" into the school board's deliberations.

Peter Dreier is assistant professor of sociology at the University of Oregon and a former newspaper reporter. Stefan Ostrach is associated with the Pacific Northwest Research Center and the Campaign to Stop the B-1 Bomber. Both are members of the New American Movement.

Staughton Lynd

No one above the law—except at the workplace

The most elementary meaning of justice or fairness is that the law is the same for everyone.

No one is supposed to be above the law. In Watergate days, Sen. Sam Ervin liked to intone that the King of England himself could not enter the meanest hovel in the realm without a search warrant.

Thus a law creating a crime cannot say: The following acts are crimes if committed by Person X or Unpopular Character Y. Such a law is an unconstitutional bill of attainder. A law must say: The following acts are crimes no matter who commits them.

Like so many other constitutional or legal rights, this elementary meaning of justice is left behind when a worker punches in. In the privately-owned workplace all are *not* equal under the law.

If an employee starts a fight, and there is a shop rule making fighting a cause for immediate discharge, the employee gets canned. But if a foreman starts a fight there may be no discipline at all.

A recent Associated Press dispatch reported that 500 men had been on strike for a month at a Consolidation Coal Company mine in Cadiz, Ohio. According to District 6 president John Guzeck, a foreman hit a miner and the union was demanding that Consolidation institute a policy of equal punishment for supervisory personnel as well as coal miners.

The same question was presented in a recent arbitration case, *Marinette General Hospital*, 67 LA 785. (Volume 67 of the Labor Arbitration cases beginning at page 785.) Here is the arbitrator's description of what happened:

The dispute in this matter arises out of an alleged abuse of W____, an em-

ployee of Marinette General Hospital, by A____, a supervisor of said institution.

On Oct. 31, 1975, W____ was performing her responsibilities as a member of the housekeeping staff. In the afternoon of said date she engaged in

A hospital supervisor strikes an employee there. The employee submits a grievance. The arbitrator decides that nothing can be done to the supervisor. Why? Because he is a supervisor.

a conversation with one of the patients and was overheard by A____, the chief physical therapist at the hospital. A____ was upset over the substance of W____'s conversation and began to engage in an emotionally-charged discussion with her about the appropriateness of her conduct. At this point W____ left the patient's room and proceeded to the utility room where A____ subsequently appeared. A____ was still upset over W____'s conduct with the patient and engaged in a "heated" conversation about same. Mrs. Joan Charlson, an employee of the hospital was also in the utility room when this occurred.

During the course of the conversation W____ gestured with her finger and it made contact with A____'s body. According to A____, he brushed aside W____'s hand; however, W____ and Charlson testified that he struck W____ in her left shoulder three times.

W____ submitted a grievance in which she alleged that A____ pushed her and used abusive language. According to

W____, said conduct was violative of Articles 4, 5, 15 and 23 of the labor agreement and she requested that A____ be "terminated."

Article 4 of the contract permitted discharge without warning or notice for the offenses of "use of abusive language to-

ward another person while on Hospital premises" and "deliberate misconduct which results in damage to any person or property while on Hospital premises."

The arbitrator, as they say in the law, never reached the merits. That is, he ruled that whether or not A had abused and struck W in violation of Article 4, A could not be disciplined as a result of W's filing a grievance because A was a supervisor.

First, said the arbitrator, Article 4 covers disciplinary action of employees and A is not an employee, but a supervisor.

Second, the arbitrator went on, even if Article 4 covered A he could not be disciplined by the Union. In his words:

The initiative in disciplining employees resides exclusively with the employers. The Union can scrutinize and challenge the actions of the employer after discipline is imposed, but the initial determination concerning the disciplining of an employee... is the exclusive function of the employer.

There you have it. Foremen are not equal under the law because, after all,

"the Employer" owns the place. Q.E.D.

The next time A hits her (or makes sexual advances) I advise W to go down to the police station and swear out a warrant. If A did what W alleges, he committed assault and battery. It is the common law crime of "assault" to put another in reasonable fear of an immediate unwanted touching. And it is the common law crime of "battery" to go ahead and touch the other. (Even accepting A's story, "brushing" is just as much battery as pushing.) These crimes are still crimes when committed by supervisors. And nothing in the law says that these crimes stop being crimes at the shop (or hospital) gate.

Of course I recognize that swearing out a warrant might itself, directly or indirectly, jeopardize W's job. If a group of hospital workers did it together the risk might be less. There is even a possibility that by doing it together, these employees might bring swearing out a warrant under the protection of Section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act. Section 7 protects "concerted activities for... mutual aid or protection." What could be more mutual protection than trying to safeguard yourself from a foreman who slugs people?

In my next column I'll have more to say about the right to concerted activity, the key to all other workers' rights.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and antiwar activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. He and Alice Lynd edited Rank and File, Personal Histories by Working-Class Organizers. His column appears regularly. Readers interested in corresponding directly with Lynd can write him at 1694 Timbers Ct., Niles, OH 44446.

DIALOG

Judy MacLean's article on the Detroit conference of the National Organization for Women, which I attended as a NOW member, was deeply disturbing in several respects.

After dwelling at length on NOW's supposed new-found unity, MacLean then turns around and attacks conference participants who disturbed the "unity" by insisting on bringing the real political issues to the surface.

MacLean zeroes in on the "behavior of the Socialist Workers party around some resolutions they raised." The Defending Women's Rights resolution—supported by members of the SWP as well as many other women at the conference—called for defending the rights of working-class women, especially women of the oppressed nationalities. It placed special emphasis on rights now under attack, including abortion, child care, affirmative-action gains, maternity benefits—as well as the Equal Rights Amendment. It stressed the need for an independent feminist movement.

MacLean herself is forced to admit there are problems in NOW when she quotes one black woman on how NOW could do more to recruit minority women and another on how the "racism in NOW" makes her angry.

But in MacLean's account, these problems are transformed into a problem of the SWP trying to focus discussion on a resolution that addressed itself to these issues and outlined a perspective for correcting NOW's defaults.

It is especially disappointing to find a newspaper calling itself socialist so shamelessly defending the red-baiting motion against the SWP that was pushed through at the end of the NOW conference.

Red-baiting serves to direct attention away from real problems. The argument

that the problem is the "tactics" of socialists, not their ideas, is the classical defense of red-baiting. It is as false in this case as it has been throughout the history of the labor, black and women's movements.

The real problem was the "tactics" of the NOW leadership, bent on preventing clarification of the differences over what kind of feminist organization is needed.

MacLean suggests that others in NOW will not want to hide their socialist sympathies. She quotes one woman as saying that the SWP has "made socialism a bad word."

I would conclude otherwise. It is self-proclaimed socialists who offer apologies for a political orientation away from black and other working-class women—and justify red-baiting—who discredit the name of socialism.

—Willie Mae Reid
Socialist Workers Party

Judy MacLean replies

If any statement critical of socialists or their tactics is "red-baiting," then socialists will always be above criticism.

When Phyllis Schlafly says the ERA is a communist plot because SWP supports it, that's red-baiting. If NOW had said they didn't want socialists in their ranks or accused SWP of behaving as they did because they were socialists, it would have been red-baiting. But NOW merely protested SWP's manipulative tactics, not its socialist views or right to be in NOW, and I call that criticism, not red-baiting.

Crying "red-baiting" is an easy way to keep from facing the fact that SWP's tactics alienated them from the many NOW women who agreed with them on particular issues.

Ah, Berkeley

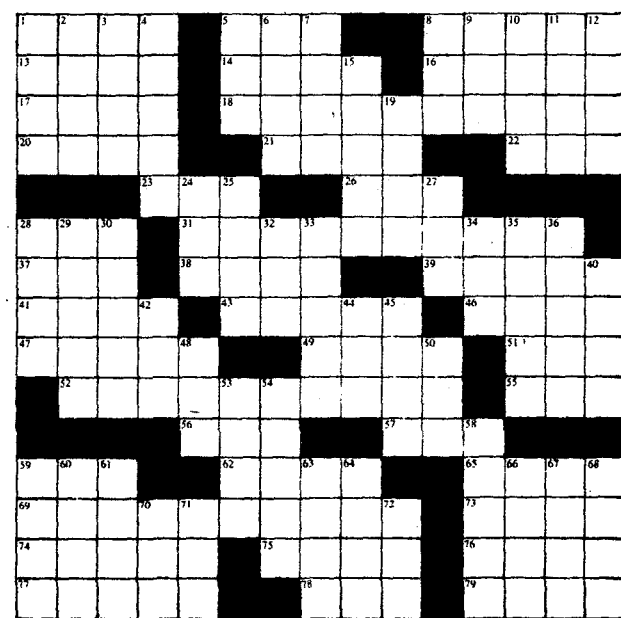
Composed by David Memelstein

Across:

- 1 '60s admonition: stepquote with 4D, 23A, 25D, 43A, 45D, 57A and 58D
- 5 Part of a circumference
- 8 Humble
- 13 Aid's companion
- 14 What one sometimes doesn't give (with a)
- 16 French traitor
- 17 Falsifier
- 18 Where it happened
- 20 Caesar's dying words
- 21 Merit
- 22 Meadow
- 23 See 1A
- 26 Mortal or venial
- 28 Neon or helium
- 31 Rockefeller and Pratt
- 37 Legendary Celt
- 38 Oriental nurse
- 39 Person of influence
- 41 Portico
- 43 See 1A
- 46 Church part
- 47 Crown
- 49 F. Buchanan's org.: Variant abbr.
- 51 Musical tones
- 52 The enemy and his family
- 55 Chronic drunk
- 56 C minor, for example
- 57 See 1A
- 59 Not many
- 62 Noted place of exile
- 65 Trash, in Britain
- 69 Famous movement
- 73 Peter, Paul & Mary
- 74 Chemical compound
- 75 Young woman, in Seville
- 76 Former socialist youth org.
- 77 Moments of time
- 78 Carriage
- 79 First name of man to whom quote is attributed

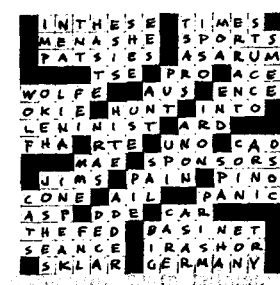
Down:

- 1 Hill's companion
- 2 Newspaper section, for short
- 3 Nifty



- 4 See 1A
- 5 Interjections of surprise
- 6 Type of walker or dancer
- 7 Woman's name
- 8 Part of the world that's a stage
- 9 Precedes humbug
- 10 Grandparental
- 11 Bargain
- 12 Fitzgerald
- 15 Body trunks
- 19 Basic amount
- 24 Spanish aunt
- 25 See 1A
- 27 Macadamia, for one
- 28 Essential part
- 29 Room at the top
- 30 Sand bar
- 32 Gabriel or Carlos
- 33 School composition
- 34 Bolivian product
- 35 _____ Unis
- 36 Leader of 18A
- 40 Snug retreat
- 42 Railway group: Abbr.
- 44 Hockey player
- 45 Green vegetation

- 48 Ancient vessel
- 50 Residue
- 53 Kind of sake
- 54 Scottish firths
- 58 See 1A
- 59 Farm youth group, et al.: Abbr.
- 60 Woman's name
- 61 Last name of 79A, with 63D
- 64 Beginning of a play
- 66 Harp, in Firenze
- 67 Exchequer
- 68 Dance or music
- 70 Conclusion
- 71 French possessive
- 72 Witch





(off the record)

By Sidney Blumenthal
and Danny Schechter

What's between the lines

In the wake of *All the President's Men* journalists have become a hot movie item. A new film, *Between the Lines* under the direction of Joan Micklin Silver (*Hester Street*) depicts life among "alternative" journalists in Boston.

Between the Lines offers an impressive veneer of realism. Fred Barron, the screenwriter of the movie, worked on both the *Boston Phoenix* and the *Real Paper*, which allegedly provided him with material for his script.

The *Phoenix* was launched as a four-page movie and theatre listings sheet called *Boston After Dark*. At about the same time a newspaper called the *Cambridge Phoenix*, which had a more countercultural orientation, started publication.

The publisher of *BAD*, seeing an opportunity to eliminate his competition, purchased the *Phoenix* from its owners, who reneged on an agreement to share power with a staff union. *BAD* became the *Boston Phoenix* and the staff union of the old *Cambridge Phoenix* formed a cooperatively owned and run weekly they called the *Real Paper*. After a few years the staff-owned paper was sold by a majority decision to a politician-lawyer and David Rockefeller Jr. Meanwhile, over at the *Phoenix*, staffers attempted to form a union, but were thwarted when the publisher fired key organizers.

That's the history out of which Barron

supposedly drew his screenplay. New York critics seem to adore *Between the Lines*. Vincent Canby, writing in the *New York Times*, touts it as "one of the few films I've seen dealing with the counterculture years that doesn't rip it off or send it up."

Boston critics, on the other hand, don't recognize anything in common between the movie and the experiences of the two Boston weeklies. They have, without exception, panned the film. *Real Paper* columnist Ed Zuckerman summed up the general opinion when he wrote "*Between the Lines* purports to deal seriously with something I have been deeply involved in for years, and it offends me that it turns into something dumb."

A film about the Boston scene shouldn't have to depict it exactly. Fiction, after all, is fiction. But *Between the Lines* bears no resemblance to what it alleges to describe. It is precisely what Canby claims it is not, a rip off.

The film also has no politics, while politics continues to be a primary concern of Boston writers. *Between the Lines'* characters bemoan the lost excitement of the '60s. *Real Paper* and *Phoenix* reporters, on the other hand, are still plugging away, producing any number of tough political stories.

Fred Barron and Joan Silver, disdaining the hostile Boston reviews, are hopping around the country pushing the film. But during the shooting they weren't so cozy. Silver barred Barron from the set at various times and sent out press releases crediting herself as co-screenwriter. The

Screenwriters Guild intervened, assayed the situation, and declared Barron the sole author, forcing Silver's name to be scratched from the writing credits.

Ray Silver, Joan's husband and the movie's producer (also a real estate tycoon) told us not to worry about any resemblance between the film and the Boston journalism scene. The paper in *Between the Lines* is, he said, "unlike any paper anyone has seen before." He scoffed at the Boston critics. "It isn't a newspaper story as such. It's not to be taken as a documentary on alternative journalism."

In other words, what's *Between the Lines* is pretense.

Loeb's Terrorists

New Hampshire is a hermit kingdom ruled by a governor out of *Duck Soup* and informed by newspapers that might serve as models for the *National Lampoon*. William Loeb's *Manchester Union-Leader* particularly is noted for its inventive attitude toward the news. Loeb himself is politically somewhere to the right of General Pinochet. The campaign of the anti-nuclear power group, the Clamshell Alliance, culminating recently in the occupation of a Seabrook, N.H., nuclear plant site, was an occasion of great merriment for Loeb.

Two days before the May 1st occupation the *Union-Leader* ran a screaming headline proclaiming "Leftist Groups Hope for Violence." In a front-page editorial Loeb warned, "It is important for the people of New Hampshire to understand that this is not a Sunday school picnic. This is an act of terrorism and violence." Gov. Meldrim Thomson broadly hinted that intelligence reports he had received indicated that the Clamshell Alliance had terrorist intentions.

Where did Thomson get his nuggets of information? His intelligence reports, it turns out, were produced by the zany, radioactive U.S. Labor party, which has included the disruption of the anti-nuke movement as one of its aims.

The *Portsmouth Herald*, the other big newspaper in New Hampshire, is usually a shade more staid than the flaming *Union-Leader*. But the *Herald* wires were completely loosened by the Seabrook demonstration. The paper cited its own inside sources on the Clamshell Alliance, causing its editors to fear for the future of the Republic. "Affiliated with these groups," the *Herald* reported, "are the people we once heard described as 'the crazies'... If they are successful in their occupancy of Seabrook, then law and order will have come to an end in New Hampshire, and no one's property will be safe from intrusion."

To the dismay of the rest of the press corps assembled in Seabrook, "the crazies" never materialized. And the *Herald* never revealed where it heard of them. Was it on a bathroom wall?

Still, the *Herald* kept up its drumbeat of fear. "Here's the real menace," the paper intoned. "People like the Clamshells are really only the front—without knowing it—for far more sinister organizations, ones whose roots may even center in inimical world capitals." Like Boston?

No business like tube business

Media investigations of media corporations are rare. Few people know that television networks reporter greater profit margins than oil companies.

William Paley, godfather of CBS, who is retiring this year after decades of living on ratings, boasted to *Variety* that CBS' profits this year are up 28,650 percent over its first year.

The other companies aren't doing too badly either. ABC, the sweepstakes winner in ratings over the past season, has hiked profits 186.1 percent in 1976 over the year before. It isn't Barbara Walters who is responsible for this lucrative business. ABC is raking in the loot as a result of having the sudsiest soap operas, goriest cop shows, most spectacular sports events, and lowest common-denominator sit-coms.

NBC, the last-ranked of the three networks, gained only 13 percent in profits, while most business corporations reported a 5 to 7 percent increase over the same period.

These figures might never have surfaced if *Television Digest*, an industry publication, hadn't diligently broken the statistics down into comprehensible form. The *New York Times* reported in its account of the matter, "The revenue and profits of the networks are kept secret by their parent companies which in their annual reports make a practice of submerging financial information on the networks in totals that encompass all their broadcast activities."

Does this have any effect on programming? That's like asking whether Walter Cronkite can be trusted.

"TV is a fat, fat business," Grant Tinker, president of Mary Tyler Moore Enterprises (and Mary's ex), told an industry convention. "Everybody is running to the bank and nobody is thinking of doing something good on a regular basis."

So that's why old WJM in Minneapolis kept Ted Baxter as its anchor man.

Sidney Blumenthal writes for the *Real Paper*. Danny Schechter is the news director/director at WBCN-FM radio.



When the U.S. played South Africa in the Davis Cup protesters picketed the games.

SPORTS

Apartheid good grounds for barring South Africa

By Richard E. Lapchick

To read the full-page ads in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* you would think that sports in South Africa are as integrated as they could be. Under the heading "This is how we discriminate in South Africa," a black boxer stands over his fallen white victim.

The text of the ad says that "Sport is simply used by some as a means to try and change South Africa's politics, while Russia, Uganda, Cuba, Angola and many others—some of whose internal politics others may also not like—participate with impunity."

It is true that South Africa—along with Rhodesia—has been singled out by the international sports community as an object for special condemnation.

While the sponsors of the expensive pro-South Africa press campaign may not understand, the reason is unclouded for others: the foundation for sports—and all other aspects of life in South Africa—is apartheid.

In sports this has been translated into separate and unequal treatment for non-whites in training and coaching facilities,

administration, ability to represent South Africa in international competition and even in the opportunity to witness events as spectators.

Because of these policies South Africa has been almost completely isolated from the international sports community. Throughout the concerted campaign to achieve this athletic representatives from American sports bodies either supported or quietly abstained whenever votes on the issue were taken.

On the infrequent occasion when these representatives would explain their actions one of two explanations was usually given. The most typical explanation was that "politics has no place in sport." The more sophisticated argued that it would be only through international competition that South Africa would change its apartheid sports policy.

There's always been politics.

From the moment the Olympic games were reborn in 1896 politics has been an integral part of the games. Even the idealist Baron de Coubertin, the man responsible for rekindling the Olympic flame,

Continued on next page.

No to South Africa

Continued from page 19.

had politics on his mind. The decline of French spirit after the Franco-Prussian war was one motivating factor in his work to rebuild the games. He even worked behind the scenes to keep Germany out of the first games.

Since that time most of the major powers have used the games for political advantage. The U.S. refused to acknowledge the King of England in the opening ceremonies of the 1908 games. The Berlin Olympics was a propaganda festival for Hitler and the Nazis in 1936. During the height of the Cold War the games became testing grounds for the superiority of political ideologies. The People's Republic of China and Taiwan have had a seesaw battle for years to determine which regime represents the Chinese people.

Brewing for a long time.

The issue of South Africa's participation in the Olympics has been brewing for a long time. They were first banned in 1964, readmitted in 1968 only to be excluded a few months later and, finally, dismissed from the Olympic movement altogether in 1970. More than 90 nations have been involved at one time or another in the dispute.

The primacy of political issues in sport is also reflected in the make-up of the IOC itself. During the 1960s representatives from nonwhite nations were admitted to the IOC in large numbers for the first time. Nevertheless they possessed only 33 percent of the voting power on the IOC as of 1970. To maintain their 67 percent control it was necessary for 11 of the predominately white nations to have two or more representatives on the IOC. Of the national Olympic committees without an IOC representative—which, in effect means they are powerless—only 12.4

percent were from the white nations, while 87.6 percent were from nonwhite nations.

To the idealist who might believe such figures to be meaningless if sports and the Olympic movement are above politics and race a survey made in 1970 (the year South Africa was dismissed from the Olympic movement) asking the national committees their position on South African participation should be instructive. A 68 percent majority of the predominately white nations were not opposed to South Africa's participation. (The 32 percent who were opposed were all from the Socialist bloc.) However, 98 percent of the nonwhite nations opposed South Africa's participation without complete sports integration in South Africa.

Changes only since exclusion.

For those who argue that continued international participation with South Africa will show by example that multi-racial societies work, history offers little support. Until South Africa was excluded from the Olympic movement in 1970 they had frequent sports contacts internationally. If South Africa's supporters are right it should have been during this time that apartheid in sports was modified.

In fact, between 1948—the year the Nationalists came to power and apartheid became official government policy—and 1970, there were a total of five documented incidents where white sportsmen or administrators called for *any* change in apartheid sport.

Once they were isolated, on the other hand, a torrent of criticism of government sports policy began to flow from white sportsmen and administrators. A poll taken in 1971 of 925 prominent South Africans indicated that 79 percent favored sports integration. Subsequent polls have shown similar results.

Shortly after the 1971 poll was taken, Vorster announced a policy of "multinationalism" (as opposed to multiracialism) in sport. South African whites and nonwhites could compete against each other as members of their own "nations"

at international events where several non-South African nations would also be competing. Multi-racial sport was still banned on the club, provincial and national levels. Even in the special international events where multinational competition was allowed, whites and nonwhites could only compete against each other and not play on the same team.

South Africa would also send integrated teams overseas in four events: the Olympics, the Davis Cup, the Federation Cup and the Canada Cup golf tournament. However, there would be no mixed trials for selection and the teams could not wear the national Springbok emblem.

Dennis Brutus, the leader of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) dismissed the changes as meaningless. "It's a new name for the old game," he said. International sports bodies recognized this and South Africa remained excluded.

More attempts at "change."

In 1974 Dr. Koornhof, the South African minister of sport, announced more "changes." South African sport bodies that had been suspended from international bodies could hold their own "multinational" events. Thus, they could hold mixed events—still with no mixed teams—even without foreign teams competing in the event. However, this applied only to sports where South Africa had been suspended. Again, the intent was clear and South Africa remained isolated.

A new sports policy was proclaimed in the fall of 1976. By this time the battle had entered a new stage. It was not only South Africa that was being isolated, but also New Zealand whose government had reopened sports contacts with South Africa. African nations had announced they would boycott the 1976 Olympic games in the spring; the United Nations had approved this at its Conference on Apartheid in May; and the Organization of African Unity had agreed in June. This was the first time there had been a mass pull-out from the games.

The 1976 version of South Africa's

"new" sports policy allowed for white teams to compete with nonwhite teams at all levels upon approval of the minister of sport. Leagues and club teams, however, were to remain segregated.

Escalation.

The Organization of African Unity escalated the battle further this year when it announced that the boycott against New Zealand had been extended to all nations that compete with South Africa. With the South African Davis Cup team playing the American team in California it just might mean that the U.S. will not be competing against black African athletes for some time.

While mass protest against apartheid sport has been the norm in white Commonwealth nations—especially Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada—there has never been a sustained effort in the U.S.

ACCESS, the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society, has recently been formed with the aim of ending American competition with South Africa by the 1980 Olympics. It is a coalition of groups that include the American Committee on Africa, Americans for Democratic Action, the American Friends Service Committee, ARENA, the Institute for Sport and Social Analysis, Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Gray Panthers, the Methodist Federation for Social Action, Operation PUSH, the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, the South African Students Movement, SCLC, Sports for the People and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

ACCESS hopes to influence American sports federations that allow affiliated teams to compete with South Africa to end their competition on the theory that change will come about only when South Africa is totally isolated from the world of sport. History seems to bear witness to this belief.

Richard Lapchick recently completed a Ph.D. thesis on sports in South Africa.

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FILM

Citizens Band for all 'good buddies'

CITIZENS BAND

Screenplay by Paul Brickman
Directed by Johnathan Demme
Distributed by Paramount,
Rated PG

"Breaker One Nine."

"There's a lot of voices out there," whispers a soft voice over the static, "They're all different. But yours is the one I want to hear." Those are the opening lines of *Citizens Band*, a new movie that stars Paul Le Mat and Candy Clark, who were also starred in *American Graffiti*. (Somewhat all the stars of that 1973 low-budget, top-grossing film have made it into the big time: Cindy Williams, Richard Dreyfuss, MacKenzie Phillips.)

Citizens Band is a nonviolent, humorous, warm and wildly robust movie that consists of six plots, connected only by radio waves until they all come together

in uproarious fashion at the final fade. CB radios, as you will learn if you don't already know, are not just used for speeding in convoys down the highway, evading the highway speed-limit enforcers. They are also used for hustling, propagandizing, proselytizing and, most importantly, relaying calls for help in emergencies that happen along the road. Whether you are a CBer already or just a CBer at heart, this is a movie that will set your fingers tapping (or forehead slapping) as you try to figure whose handle (code names on the CB frequency) is whose before the film unveils the answer. Go see it... Ten Four....

—Karen Morrill

Karen Morrill teaches in an alternative school system in Chicago and reviews films for *In These Times*.



Ann Phillips

"In These Times' spirit is inviting, not narrowly sectarian. You get a sense of solidity, of facts and ideas in constructive combination."

—Gloria Steinem

NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

A look at the upcoming election in the United Mine Workers by staff reporter Dan Marschall, an analysis of the Humphrey/Hawkins full employment bill by Elliott Currie, the case of two reporters that raises some serious ques-

tions about the obligations of newspapers to protect their writers, what's happening in Pakistan, and a preview look at what to expect from John Kenneth Galbraith's new TV series.

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RECORDS

Caldeonian soul music

A PERIOD OF TRANSITION

Van Morrison
Warner Brothers Records

Some say that Van Morrison is in the great tradition of the angry working-class Irish poets; others have been heard to say that he's just looney.

His recorded music started in 1964 with a Belfast group called Them. The band recreated tunes by Jimmy Reed, T-Bone Walker, and Jimmy Witherspoon, but Morrison wrote prolifically. "Gloria" was the group's best-known song, though hardly their most energetic or penetrating. Although Morrison's tenor voice, like his lyrics, was powerful on these recordings, his range of accomplishments was hardly tapped.

Coming to the U.S., Morrison recorded for Bang Records (the best, an album called *T.B. Sheets*) and produced a top ten hit, "Brown Eyed Girl." Switching to Warners in 1968, Morrison's first three efforts (*Astral Weeks*, *Moondance*, *His Band and Street Choir*) revealed his complex abilities, which encompassed blues, jazz, ballads and rock. Singing, arrangements, musicianship were all superb, but best of all was the lyric intensity of Morrison's vision, at times raucous, sublime, intimate and passionate. You could feel the music's razor-like pull on the artist's vision of a changing world.

His albums were well received but were never commercial blockbusters. He made a couple of stabs at mainstream with *Tupelo*



Van Morrison

Honey and Saint Dominic's Preview. *Hard Nose the Highway* was a return to mystic ruminations, and a live album followed that (*It's Too Late to Stop Now*).

Veedon Fleece in 1974 was greeted with critical skepticism and disappointing sales, but it is a work of genius, a beautiful series of ballads that exposes, in full, Morrison's mature night-time insight. The music is powerful but distant, and the lack of accessibility to a broad audience must have soured Morrison. He went into seclusion (as far as recording music or touring was concerned) and waited three years before producing *Period of Transition*.

The album is worth the wait. It returns Morrison's unique voice to what he calls his "Caldeonian soul music." Co-produced with Mac Rebennack (otherwise

known as Dr. John the Nite-Tripper) *Period* is hard-edged music of the day, with fully developed sounds that celebrate rock, jazz and the incredible melange known as the New Orleans sound.

Rebennack's services were vital in respect to the New Orleans style since his musical background was created there, and Morrison uses his keyboard playing and influence to create a number of chant-like moments, most conspicuous in "Kansas City" and "Joyous Sound." It is still Van Morrison's show, highlighted by his lyrics, compositions and arrangements. Above all, the voice remains, no longer snarling as it did in earlier days, but still able to belt, then plead in a way that is foreign, mysterious.

This is the Irish in Morrison, the poetic and the visionary. His roots are not in sound alone, but in some bond connecting him to a land that is out of reach for many listeners. Maybe you have to be Gaelic to understand him fully. Morrison invests these connections with a magical force.

While *Period* does have connections with identifiable musical sources, Morrison's presence is its most important feature. Here's hoping this is the beginning of another series of productions and new tours. This man has kept himself in the shadows too long.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches media-related subjects at Eastern Illinois University and writes regularly for *In These Times*.

Where to get the hard-to-get

So you're tired of the musical diet of commercial pop churned out by the corporate giants of the record industry. Perhaps you've recently purchased some political records on a label called Paredon, or some women's music on the Olivia label, or some country blues on Yazoo, or some free jazz on JCOA, and have wondered where to get such "small label" records on a regular basis at a reasonable price.

While such records are sometimes available in certain specialty record stores in large metropolitan areas, they are often difficult to find in stores in middle-sized cities or small towns. My advice to the frustrated record seeker is to enter the world of mail order records. By mail ordering records you don't have to settle for what's immediately available; the whole spectrum of recorded music is quite literally at your fingertips.

Large record companies, like Columbia, publicly contend that such music is too "unprofitable" to record. Yet Columbia will spend huge sums recording European classical music in its Master Works series, even though they are aware that the sales of such records will not give them anything near a profitable return on their investment. When music is considered "respectable," unprofitability isn't merely determined by the "bottom line."

Viewed in a larger context, the term can mean: too "political," too "way-out," too "raw," too "ethnic," or simply too "real." Such music is perceived as a

threat to the cultural hegemony fostered by corporate America's slick music machine.

In this sense, the renewed growth of the small independent record label in recent years is a positive sign of changing consciousness. These companies are sometimes artist-controlled, sometimes ethnically-controlled; occasionally they are run as collectives or are openly socialist in their musical references. Their continued growth could represent a rejection of the watered-down "product" that passes for music for the majority of Americans at present. For this reason, (and for the obvious qualitative difference in the music) we should begin to support these small independent labels with our record-buying dollars.

What follows is a partial alphabetical listing of small label distributors. If you send away for their catalogs, they will list all the records they handle by label; often at discount prices. Records are seldom damaged in shipment (after all, retail record stores order their records by mail), and if so are returnable. The wait is generally about two weeks. If a particular record is unavailable you will be so informed, and your money refunded or your account credited.

You can also order directly from the small label record manufacturer itself, but space does not permit a listing of all such record labels and their addresses. (Such a list appeared in a recent issue of *Sing Out!*.) Also prices are usually the same or more expensive than if you go through a

distributor who can buy in quantity. Another alternative is to start your own cooperative record-buying service or co-op record store.

Record distributor:

Andy's Front Hall, RD 1 Wormer Rd., Vorheesville, New York 12186 (folk)
Beaumont Blues Sales, PO Box 1971, Beaumont, TX 77704 (blues)
Country Sales, PO Box 191, Floyd, VA 24091 (bluegrass)
New Music Distribution Service, 6 W. 95th St., New York, NY 10025 (jazz, classical)
Jazz, Etc., PO Box 393, Bergenfield, NJ 07621 (jazz)
Jazz Record Exchange, PO Box 125, Jamaica, NY 11415 (jazz)
Jazzway, Suite 1, 7214 Bergenline Ave., North Bergen, NJ 07047 (jazz)
Jive in the Hills, 137 E. 6th St., Austin, TX 78701 (blues)
Kinnara Distributors, 4323 N. Elston Ave., Chicago, IL 60641 (blues, jazz, folk)
M. Webb Disques, PO Box 272, North Hollywood, CA 91603 (jazz)
Rare Records, PO Box 10518, 417 E. Broadway, Glendale, CA 91209 (jazz)
Roundup Records, Box 474, Somerville, MD 02144 (folk, blues, political)
Southern Record Sales, 42 N. Lake Ave., Pasadena, CA 91101 (blues, jazz, folk)

—Ron Sakolsky

Ron Sakolsky teaches jazz and Blues at Sangamon State University and reviews music for *In These Times*.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

BOOKS

Gay History documents fight for human dignity

GAY AMERICAN HISTORY: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.

By Jonathan Katz
Thomas Y. Crowell Co., N.Y.,
1976, 690 pp.

It's been a year of media visibility for the gay movement: Gay rights legislation is on the agenda nationally and in several states; Anita Bryant has single-handedly and single-mindedly made gays a national moral issue; and Jonathan Katz has published *Gay American History*.

This absorbingly readable collection of material documenting the oppression of gays and the early stirrings of the movement to resist takes on several important chores and gets them done in a direct and craftsmanlike way. Most important, it gives gay men and lesbians a sense of their antecedents and their traditional posture in American society.

had done its best to destroy us..."

Throughout the work Katz exposes the heterosexual majority's suppression of a subculture they have never been able to deal with. Stigmatizing terms ("abominations," "crimes against nature," "sin," "queer," "fairies," "bull dykes," and "perverts") have been internalized by lesbians and gay men "with varying results, from feelings of guilt and worthlessness, to trouble relating to other homosexuals, to the most profound disturbances and anti-social behavior."

Here Katz has put his finger on the great gay problem: mainstream culture's inability to adjust to and accept an inevitable segment of the population results in patterns of behavior leading to further alienation and condemnation. "External judgments internalized became self-oppression, reexternalized this might result in

well-fleshed-out section overviews make each chapter a complete, specialized work.

"Native Americans/Gay Americans," for instance, uses the observations of early American explorers, missionaries, military types, etc., to paint a picture of the Indian cultural approach to homosexuality. Attitudes and relationships differed from tribe to tribe, but the documents suggest that "before the inroads of Christianity, homosexuals generally occupied an institutionalized, important, and often respected position within many native groups."

"Passing Women" further explores the "socially conditioned character of role and stereotype." The women whose stories are included in this section chose to enact the "male" role in society for the political, social and, in some cases, sexual prerogatives that sta-



The book is organized into six sections: "Trouble," "Treatment," "Passing Women," "Native Americans/Gay Americans," "Resistance," and "Love." Each division is introduced with remarks that illuminate the original context of the documents and place them in a socio-historical perspective that reveals "for how long and with what depth of hatred the homosexual has been persecuted in America."

A member of New York City's Gay Socialist Process, Jonathan Katz has been involved in gay liberation efforts since the days of the Stonewall riots. He is also a member of Gay Action Alliance (GAA) and a founder of the Gay Academic Union. The perspective he brings to this work is historical; the point of view is militant; and the objective is social change.

Lesbians and gay men, Katz says, have "moved in a brief span of time from a sense that there was something radically wrong with us to the realization that there was something radically wrong with that society which

behavior destructive to the self and others."

"Trouble," the section following this observation, is a catalogue of oppression—a series of colonial American atrocities and 400 years of subsequent legal and moral abuse: Jan Creoli, a black living in Dutch Manhattan in 1624 is executed by strangulation for his unspeakable crime; another "sodomite" is tied into a sack and thrown into a river to drown; other punishments for the crime of homosexuality range from death by fire to being run out of town.

In this gallery of horrors liberal Thomas Jefferson recommends that the death sentence for male homosexuals be ameliorated to castration—(women, for their homosexual crimes, would have a half-inch hole bored through the cartilage of their noses).

There are newspaper accounts, case histories, government reports, biographical sketches, first-hand interviews. Both the diversity of material and the organization of it prevent a smooth narrative flow, but the detailed,

tus has traditionally afforded. Cora Anderson, who adopted a male persona in Chicago in the 1910s, wrote a "confession" in a Chicago tabloid in 1914: "This world is made by man for man alone—I am bitter only against conditions that have grown up in this man-made world. You cannot blame anyone who makes anything for making it to suit the maker. Power is always ruthless."

In this section and throughout the book Katz is conspicuously conscientious about balancing the male and female considerations of his work. Entries related to women-loving women are marked with the female circle-over-cross symbol and are noted in the remarkably thorough index.

In "Treatment" Katz launches an offensive against the medical establishment's exercise of power over homosexuals—a phenomenon dating from the early 1800s. By reducing to mere psychology the complex human phenomena of homosexual behavior, emotion, life-style, culture and history, Katz says, "psychiatrists and psychologists are among the



Above: Dr. Mary Walker, awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor in 1865 for battle-front medical services.
Left: A mining-camp party dated 1891.

major ideologues of homosexual oppression."

"Treatment" covers "cures" for homosexuality ranging from castration to electro-shock. The treatment for homosexuality as an illness parallels the punishment of homosexuality as a crime.

In "Resistance" Katz presents some antecedents to the movement, indicating the lines connecting current activity and thought to early 20th century German and English struggles. Some criticism may be leveled for the relative weakness of the "resistance" material coming out of the current gay movement—but that's another book.

"Love," the last section of the book, has some of the most delightful reading: Herman Melville's notion of an "infinite fraternity of feeling" and Thoreau's of "a serene friendship land"; love letters form an impetuous anarchist/feminist to Emma Goldman; vignettes of "male/male intimacy" in the rough and ready West; the diary of 1930s political analyst Dorothy Thompson describing her "incredible feeling of sisterhood" with Christa Winsloe...

But ultimately, it's the fiery pieces within *Gay American History* that give it its bite and define it as a sharp and useful instrument. It's the rankling, abrasive selections that serve as reminders of the dimensions of the struggle for equal and fair treatment for all members of society.

One example is an excerpt from Sara Harris' *The Puritan Jungle* (1969) in which she interviewed John Sorenson, a former head of the Miami vice squad:

"I would rather see any of my children dead than homosexual... And for the reason I feel there is no cure and because of the complete degeneracy of these people. They appear on the surface to be respectable, but they're the lowest form of people.... I think the sin of homosexuality is worse than the sin of murder...." Sorenson would settle for the imprisonment of the homosexual "till he was 55. You wouldn't have as much of a problem then... He wouldn't have the attraction."

The same ignorance-bred fear and hatred is at the bottom of the current stink over the gay rights ordinance in Dade County, Fla., where Sorenson's geographical and ideological neighbor Anita Bryant has rallied the misinformed and uninformed in an anti-homosexual campaign short on logic and long on non-sequitor sloganism.

Bryant rests her case and justifies her rabid hatred with a series of Old Testament verses whose original purpose was to lay down rules for Persian Gulf basin residents hundreds of years before Christ. It's a different game now.

Katz's *Gay American History* points out that America's treatment of the homosexual is deep in just such antiquated thought and that its lack of logic does not dilute the potency of its hatred. *Gay American History* points to this hatred as the thread running through American history, underlying our laws and shaping our attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. *Gay American History* names the enemy.

—Jim Rinnert

FILM

The Greatest is only the 'pretty-goodest'

THE GREATEST

Screenplay by Ring Lardner Jr.
Directed by Tom Gries
Produced by John Marshall
Starring Muhammad Ali, Ernest Borgnine, John Marley

Very early in the film version of Muhammad Ali's autobiography, *The Greatest*, the young boxer is given a piece of advice by a backer: don't make waves—advice that he would ignore for the rest of his life.

Ali is one of America's true folk heroes—Billy the Kid and Horatio Alger rolled into one. He will probably be treated more kindly as a legend than he is regarded today; for despite his rags-to-riches rise to become heavyweight champion of the world and an even more spectacular comeback in the face of overwhelming odds, his name is anathema to a lot of people.

Ali is hated for the same reasons he is loved—because he's a loud-mouth egomaniac who defied the government by resisting the draft, who joined what many thought of as a crackpot religion, and who was the wrong color to be pulling off all these stunts with such style. But, as the p.r. blurb states, that's only the story you think you know.

As a gold medal Olympic boxing champ in Louisville, the young Cassius Clay was fair game for local enterprising white financiers. In the film these are mostly decrepit old women who admonish him not to get his odor on their dogs and that sort of thing. The disgusted kid chucks his medal in the river when he

realizes that a dozen medals won't blind the racist residents to his skin pigment. He begins training with Angelo Dundee (solidly performed by Ernest Borgnine), the only non-despicable white guy in the place.

Then one day while in hot pursuit of a sleazy white hooker, Clay is intercepted by some brothers of Islam and is coerced into hearing Malcolm X speak.

As a Baptist, Clay is puzzled over the charge that Christianity is the white man's religion. "Give Jesus a haircut and a shave, and he's just like the cop bustin' your head on the street," one of his companions explains. Ali understands.

The rest of the film is a fairly straightforward chronicle of Ali's big bouts and his courtship of Belinda Boyd (subtly and skillfully played by Annazette Chase.) Between-fight scenes tend to bog down, but the actual film clips of Ali in the ring with Liston, Norton and Foreman make *Rocky* look like kid stuff.

The point of keenest interest seems to be how well the champ plays himself. Some people have played themselves in bit roles in movies, but an entire film biography is breaking new ground. As an actor, Ali is no heavyweight, but since his persona has always been so artificially constructed, he does very well at recreating famous scenes of bravado and blowhardism.

One problem with the film is its treatment of racism—the extremes of which are all embodied by females. There are plenty of



Muhammed Ali being chewed out by trainer Ernest Borgnine.

corporate bigots and redneck crackers around as well, but their obnoxiousness is impersonal, unlike the women's. From scuzzy prostitute to old bats to snotty teenagers, these are all some honky bitches! By contrast the modest, downcast-eyed Muslim women seem doubly appealing.

Ring Lardner Jr. adapted the screenplay from Muhammad Ali's autobiography, and one might have hoped for a bit more selectivity on this point. Since

this is Ali's story, it could be that's just the way things seemed to him. When making a film, however, those involved must accept responsibility for choosing which "truth" they tell. Regardless of their degree of resemblance to reality, stereotypes are still cheap shots.

The film is dedicated to its late director, Tom Gries, who did a competent, if uninspired job. James Earl Jones and Robert Duval make cameo appearances

that will do more for the box office than for their Curriculae Vitae, but their considerable talents provide some needed moments of added punch.

The Greatest isn't really the greatest. But I guess "Pretty Good" would have looked silly on a marquee.

—P. Hertel

P. Hertel writes film reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

Radicalism and its repression among Finnish Americans

CHILDREN OF LABOR

Produced by Al Gedicks, Noel Bruckner, Mary Dore and Richard Broadman

Children of Labor is possibly the best film about the American working class produced in recent years, but you may have a hard time getting to see it.

A history of the Finnish-American community in the U.S. from the turn of the century to the present, the film is a beautifully constructed collage of old photographs, rare documentary film strips, television news spots, business promotionals and interviews with midwestern Finnish-Americans. It is unique in that it takes its structure from the stories of these people. The documentary materials provide—documentation.

The journey through 20th century America has been a frustrating one for the Finns. As the film shows, it was political radicalism that played the crucial role in forming Finnish-American culture. The first immigrants brought with them revolutionary goals and many joined the IWW and the Communist party. Yet the daily struggle was for short-term goals, and when these were in great part achieved, the revolutionary vision appears to have lost its relevance.

The subsequent disparity between goal and motive has not only frustrated hell out of the old Finns, but their children as well.

Thus, one of the most poignant scenes is an interview with a relatively affluent middle-class couple, standing on their marina, talking about the woman's IWW father and her own sense that something basic has been lost in their life.

In the post World War II era, there were problems within the Finnish community: divisions between old wobbles, Communists and non-political cooperators during the '30s led to irreparable breaks. *Children of Labor* permits the various factions to air their grievances.

At the beginning of the '30s, for example, the Communist party organized Finnish-American lumbermen to go to Russia to help put the lumber industry on a sure footing. They expected about 200, but it was the Depression and they had been claiming that Russia was a workers' paradise. So, when over 10,000 signed up, they sent them over.

Two old men talk about the experience over coffee cups. One says: "Work and good wages for the working man, that's heaven. I went. There was no wages and plenty work. Too damn much."

His friend, an old wobbly, chimes in: "I told you it wasn't run by workers. It was state capitalism. But you wouldn't listen."

A cooperator says, "The Communists wanted to take over the co-op. They heard the clink of the cash register. They wanted to

use the surplus for political organization and propaganda... We wanted the surplus returned to the consumers." A Communist answers: "We wanted to use the co-ops to build a people's movement, to bring the people together. The right-wing cooperators wanted a business on a business basis."

Subtitled, "Radicalism and its repression among the Finnish-Americans," the film shows that the repression was as much internal as external. Residues remain: old people with clenched fists sing the *Internationale* at mid-summer festival. But *Children of Labor* is not a hype for the glorious old days when reds were reds and the working class was heroic. More than any other film of its kind, it provides the viewer with an opportunity to join the men and women of a sector of the American working class in important and as yet unresolved debates.

Children of Labor is available from CD Film Workshop, 28 Fisher Ave., Roxbury, MA 02120

—John Grady

John Grady teaches at Framingham State College in Massachusetts.

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SWEET HOME CHICAGO

Photographs by *In These Times*' Ken Firestone will be shown at the Soho Gallery, 34 W. 13 St., New York, from June 7 to 28. Pictures in the exhibit were taken in and around Chicago, the photographer's home for the last 9 years. Firestone's pictures have appeared in several publications; he has exhibited in Chicago and Washington, D.C. Gallery hours are: Sat. and Sun., 1 to 6 p.m. and Tues. 7 to 9 p.m. *In These Times*' readers are invited to the opening reception Tues., June 7, from 5 to 9 p.m.

